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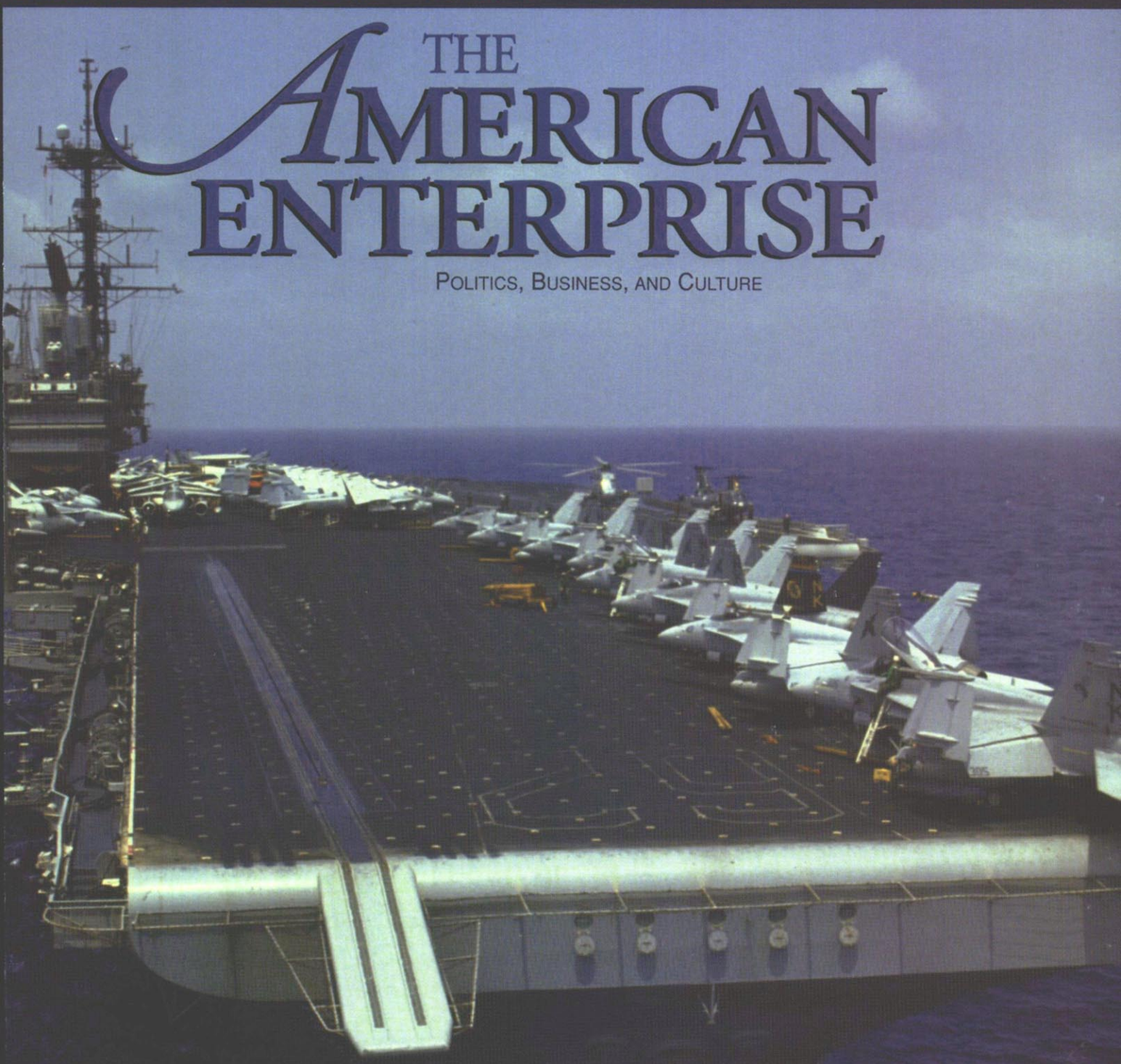

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A world of ideas on public policy.

Patents and Public Health: a Good or Bad Mix?

By Dr. Harvey Bale

Some activist groups that oppose "globalization" have campaigned publicly against the alleged deleterious effects of pharmaceutical patents on access to medicines, particularly in the developing world. They point to TRIPS – the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreement on patent protection – as the particular villain.

The reality is that TRIPS will accelerate the introduction of new, patented medicines, including treatments for the infectious diseases that are the major killers of children and adults in developing countries. At the same time, neither TRIPS nor any other single international agreement can provide the answer to the problems – poverty, lack of infrastructure, internal civil strife – that prevent people in many developing countries from getting medical care.

Because the foes of patent rights command so much attention from governments and the media, it is worth looking more closely at the issues. As an example, let us take this assertion in a recent report from a well-known non-governmental organization, Oxfam: "Every week, 200,000 people die of infectious diseases, the great majority of them women, men and children living in poverty in the developing world. Global patent rules agreed at the World Trade Organization in 1994 are deepening the public-health crisis by increasing the cost of medicines."

Infectious diseases are indeed a serious developing-country problem, but Oxfam's argument is illogical. In these countries, access is often poor for even the most basic and off-patent "essential" medicines. Less than 5% of the essential medicines as defined by the World Health Organization's essential drugs list (EDL) are covered by patent protection anywhere in the world, let alone in developing-countries, many of which have no effective intellectual property laws. Further, where patent protection has been introduced in the past decade, it has not had a significant negative impact on access to medicines.

> ***Without strong and effective global intellectual property rules, the gap between developed and developing countries will only grow in the future.***

Even at the lowest prices, many of the world's poorest people cannot afford or obtain low-cost generic treatments for malaria, TB, and other common diseases. Political priorities given to public health, the provision of financing for poorer people and medical infrastructure (rural clinics, diagnostic facilities), and involving churches and responsible NGOs in delivery are the determining factors in providing access to health care.

Some activists also freely assert that patents give innovators of new treatments unfair "monopoly" power over prices throughout the 20-year life of a patent. This ignores reality in two ways. Firstly, patents give marketing exclusivity rights to a single drug or vaccine, not a monopoly, since there are usually alternative treatments to any medicine. For example, there are at least six patented protease inhibitors for the treatment of AIDS. The existence of a number of new treatment options, spurred by patent protection, helps ensure medical choice and price competition. Secondly, the holder of a "20 year" patent right has actually only 8-10 years to recover investment costs in a new medicine and to fund new research to survive, since it typically takes 10-12 years of tests and regulatory review for innovative medicines to reach patients.

Compulsory licensing – under which governments force companies to license their patented medicines to generic manufacturers – has been touted as a solution to the access issue. Its proponents see the issue in terms of consumer price benefits. The competition benefits are small, however, and the long term damage of widespread use of compulsory licensing is likely to be significant.

Today, TRIPS is encouraging companies in India, Korea and other developing countries to shift from manufacturing generics towards pursuing their own innovative research – including the use of biotechnology tools. But if loose compulsory licensing rules are adopted, both the patients and the economies of these countries will ultimately suffer through the withdrawal of these new competitors, who will find it easier to slip back into their old business strategy of copying medicines others have discovered.

The fact is, without full respect for TRIPS, many countries' industries and patients risk losing out on the benefits of the genome-based research that is increasingly the basis of biomedical innovation. Thus, the real global social threat is that – without strong and effective global intellectual property rules – the gap between developed and developing countries will only grow in the future.

Dr Harvey Bale is Director General of the International Federation of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Associations, in Geneva, Switzerland (www.ifpma.org).

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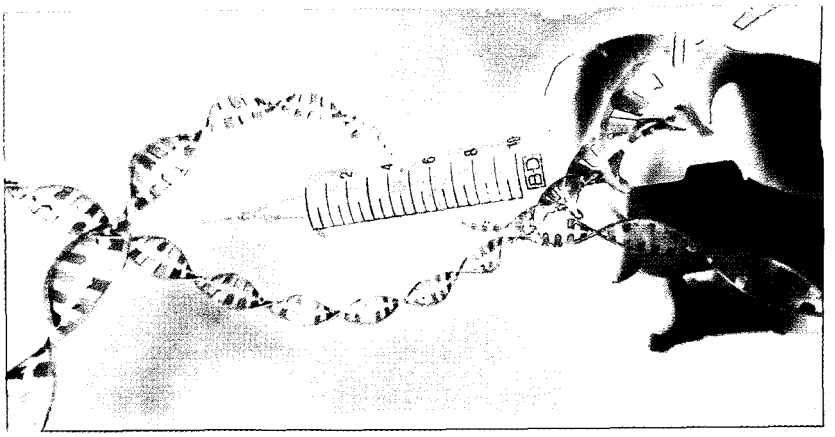

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Bird's Eye

Karl Zinsmeister

Chainsaw the Pentagon!

Remember the "corporate restructuring" of the 1980s and early '90s? Hundreds of companies cut down their management pyramids (laying off droves of white collar employees) and automated their manufacturing (trimming blue collar workers). New "lean" business techniques were instituted. Goods previously produced in-house were outsourced to more efficient suppliers. Underperforming units were spun off, weak companies were merged into stronger ones, obsolete plants were shuttered. Brand-new computer technology and industrial equipment was brought in to revolutionize daily business. Decision-making hierarchies were flattened, and authority was decentralized and pushed down to local business units. Savvy upstarts roared past companies that failed to keep up: Dell and Compaq overtook IBM; Walmart whipped Woolworths and Sears; HP leapfrogged Xerox; Nucor blasted a half-dozen steel dinosaurs; Southwest soared while Pan Am and TWA crashed; Caterpillar, Deere, and Freightliner adapted, but International Harvester died.

This was not an easy, or pretty, process. Journalists, special interests, pleaders for the companies that went extinct, and politicians galore screamed bloody murder (recall the bills aimed at banning factory closings). But these painful, ultimately unavoidable, steps set the stage for America's stunning economic comeback over the two decades following. U.S. industries and firms that were choking to death on their own tongues during the Jimmy Carter era have now climbed back to the top of the international heap, putting the hurt on many European and Asian counterparts in the process.

Today, something very similar to corporate America's 1980s therapy—dramatic restructurings, slicing fat, and technological transformation—is desperately needed in another vital national sector: our armed forces.

Today's military, Army Colonel Douglas Macgregor points out, is organized much as it was during World War II—for mass mobilization in war zones plotted out months before. "Its organization completely thwarts responsiveness in the information age." An example of the elephantine nature of our current force is the fact that America's aircraft carriers (*TAE* visited the Navy's newest one in Norfolk for this story) require up to 18 months of training, maintenance, and restocking in order to be deployable for one six-month combat tour. They're mighty battlestations once in place, but horribly expensive, inefficient, and ponderous. They are dangerous even in the absence of enemy fire (see page 18). And manning their long overseas tours places a mighty strain on the crew, which is why staff attrition is so high these days.

"As powerful as our existing forces are, they're almost unusable. During Kosovo, the Pentagon's stock response was that we needed six months to put an army on the ground," states John Arquilla, who teaches at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. If Saddam Hussein had not stopped in Kuwait but instead raced down the Arabian peninsula, he notes, we would have had no bases, and no half year, in which to build up a force capable of reclaiming the ground.

When Apache helicopters were urgently needed in Kosovo, it took the U.S. Army *30 days* to move in 28 of them. (Not to manufacture them, or ferry them over from the U.S.—just to *transfer* them south from a base in Germany.) By then it was too late, and the choppers were never used. (They did account for the war's only U.S. dead, however—two soldiers killed in accidents.) It isn't just excessive bulk but also overcentralization that damages our military's nimbleness. In Somalia a few years earlier, helicopters were shot down and 18 American soldiers killed while

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crucial information snaked its way through a chain of mid- and upper-level commanders.

Today, something very similar to corporate America's 1980s therapy—dramatic restructurings, slicing fat, and technological transformation—is desperately needed in another vital national sector: our armed forces.

At the same time our military has grown dated in many areas, it has been heaped with all sorts of burdensome new responsibilities—especially by the Clintonites. It has been told to carry out humanitarian aid, police work, and peacekeeping in any number of places. It has been required to conduct vast experiments in sexual integration. The U.S. military is even being forced into the business of environmental activism (see our story on pages 36-39). One of the most important parts of any new defense strategy created by the Bush administration will simply be to lessen the load currently placed on the shoulders of our fighting men and women: Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld promises that his upgrades will be combined with what he calls "less ambitious demands" on our armed forces.

The official position of the Clinton White House was that our military should be prepared to fight two major wars simultaneously (in addition to the many smaller nursemaid operations to which they dispatched soldiers). Yet the President never gave Defense anything close to the resources that would have been necessary to make that demand a reality. During the eight Clinton years, military spending tumbled from 20 percent of our federal budget down to 15 percent.

In August, Secretary Rumsfeld told reporters bluntly that under the Clinton strategy, the U.S. military had been "living a lie." The paper requirements of the two-war doctrine, combined with financial neglect, stretched our forces razor thin, and prevented needed investment in new equipment and new doctrines that could help us win the battles of the future. "It has brought us to a point where we don't have the forces to do it.... We have slighted modernization. We took a prolonged holiday from procuring new weapons. We have slighted, in my view, military transformation. And we have slighted things that affect the quality of our force."

That is not just a partisan view. The man scheduled to be the next chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Air Force General Richard Myers, recently pointed out that "We do have a strategy-to-force-structure imbalance that has to be corrected." A *New York Times* military reporter put it this way: "The current force structure is overworked...it is clear that the Bush administration inherited either too much strategy or too little military, and must rectify that problem."

The Bushies are going to push some extra money into defense to help bridge the responsibilities-vs.-resources gap opened up during the last administration. But, much to the shock of some in the military establishment, our new President has signaled he's not going to rain money on the Pentagon in hopes the problem will go away. In fact, merely raining money would be about the worst thing the administration could do if it really wants to force today's bureaucracy to bite the bullet, institute some venturesome reforms, and "skip ahead a generation in technology" (as President Bush has proposed).

The conventional wisdom in D.C., repeated endlessly in the *Washington Post* and other nourishers of hackneyed opinion, is that "the $1.3 trillion tax cut has squeezed the defense budget, hurting readiness, and preventing reform." Nonsense. The tax cut has hardly begun to even kick in, so it can't be blamed for the parlous manpower and material shortages and subpar readiness of our current troops. (It was Bill Clinton who essentially ran out of cruise missiles in Kosovo.) Given that we still have a historically large surplus, and a rapidly growing total federal budget even with the tax cut, it would be more sensible to blame today's galloping new spending on Medicare, farm subsidies, special education and other entitlements, if one thought defense was not getting its share.

A more fundamental reason for discounting the canard that the tax cut must torpedo military reform is this: Moving the military from a Cold War to a post-Cold War footing is actually not something that requires a lot of fresh funding. In fact, "more money would reinforce the tendency to buy what's already in the pipeline, as opposed to preparing for the transformation force," warns defense analyst Andrew Krepinevich. And he's right. It wasn't executive wisdom and a shower of cash that led corporate America to restructure a decade or two ago; it was the prospect of bankruptcy, institutional death, and their own managerial hanging if they stayed on the same old beaten path.

Done right, many of the defense transformations now needed most will actually *save* funds that can be rechanneled into other places. There are, for instance, a whole host of old-generation superweapon albatrosses that should be cut. We certainly don't need three different new short-range fighter jets (the F-22, the Joint Strike Fighter, and the upgraded F-18), all of which may be obsolete before today's Nintendo players grow up to pilot age. We could do much better things with the money now spent on B-1 bombers (like buying superior B-2s). The behemoth Crusader artillery piece currently in development is a highly dubious investment. We should be seeking smaller, less vulnerable substitutes for aircraft carriers and their costly and hard-to-man battle groups. With the Russians withering, we can shrink our nuclear weapons stockpile, saving money without endangering national security. And so forth.

An intelligent winnowing of jobs is also overdue (particularly when the services are falling far short of filling all their slots as is). Most of all, our military bureaucracies need to have their heads and tails cut off. Headquarters staffs are bloated, and decisionmaking would actually improve with fewer layers at the top. Our military's "tail" is the logistics, training, overhead, and support cadres that hang behind deployable combat forces (our "tooth"). Today, our tail-to-tooth ratio is pretty sad. There are a grand total of 150,000 soldiers in the active combat force of the U.S. Army, for instance (and only a minority of these are actual fighting soldiers). Behind that relatively small group are 330,000 other soldiers in the

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active Army who work as office staff, equipment hands, recruiters, trainers, facilities managers, drivers, dentists, various paper shufflers, daycare and commissary supervisors, you name it. Behind them are an Army *civilian* workforce of 225,000. And behind them are 563,000 members of the National Guard and Reserves. Since Cold War's end, the ratio of support and headquarters staff to fighting forces (tail compared to tooth) has actually grown worse. So our combat power is declining even as budgets and personnel hold steady or rise.

Much to the shock of some in the military establishment, our new President is not going to rain money on the Pentagon in hopes its problems will go away.

Such facts and arguments can be quite unsettling to the Pentagon brass. For generals and admirals who have built their entire careers on fitting into existing niches, talk of "military revolutions" and new ways of doing things is often profoundly threatening. The military is a deeply layered bureaucracy that is resistant to change, and the Bush/Rumsfeld shakeup is already sparking some dogged resistance. "There's a strong sense of alienation between the uniformed leadership and the civilians" in the Department of Defense, claims retired Marine General Anthony Zinni.

This is not necessarily a bad thing. As Newt Gingrich notes, "If Rumsfeld were running a happy Pentagon right now, that would mean you had a guy throwing money at the past." Was a happy Health and Human Services bureaucracy the goal during welfare reform?

Besides, though journalists prefer to emphasize reports of ruffled feathers, the reality is that plenty of military officers, particularly younger leaders, would welcome some sharp departures from past practices. "There is a consensus we have to change," says Air Force General Myers.

In any case, America's political parties, if they want to be effective and principled, must resist pampering their own pet interests. Just because Republicans have always been the pro-military party doesn't mean they should hand out free candy at the Pentagon. Their long history of support for men and women in uniform makes GOP leaders exactly the right folks to administer some tough love to the defense bureaucracy now when it's needed. President Bush's response to officers who choose to drag their feet at this critical moment should be simple: Clean house.

The President should then zero in on footdraggers within his own party on Capitol Hill. In August, a number of Republicans from the House Armed Services Committee wrote to warn Secretary Rumsfeld against trimming the Army. Earlier in the summer, Rumsfeld's proposal to phase out the B-1 bomber, which even the Air Force is dying to do, sparked hissy fits from members of Congress with bases or manufacturers in their jurisdictions.

A huge portion of our defense spending is now dictated by Congressional appetites for home-district pork. The future fighting strength of our nation is something too important to be determined in this base and foolhardy way. Here again, some Presidential head-cracking is very much in order.

The bold shifts promised by George Bush, Donald Rumsfeld, and other military reformers could potentially evaporate this year amidst finagling on Capitol Hill or within the Pentagon maze. Nonetheless it is almost a mathematical certainty that the U.S. military will be transformed in dramatic ways over the next decade. The roaring pace of technological change, the rise of new enemies, the inevitable militarization of space, and fresh risks of cyber, biological, and other high-tech warfare—not to mention more mundane factors like budgetary pressures and serious recruitment shortages—guarantee that today's status quo will be washed away.

Obdurates may slow the process down. But they can't put off a reckoning between today's dizzying pace of innovation and the urgent needs of America's fighting forces.

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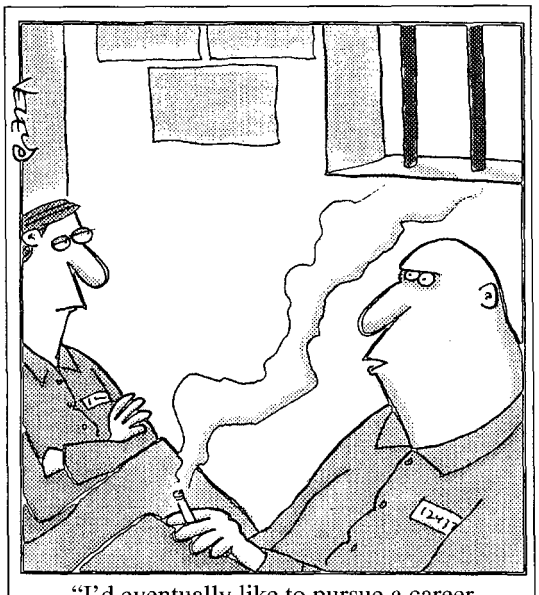
Sidelights

Teenage girls are the fastest growing segment of the juvenile prison population, according to the American Bar Association. Delinquency cases involving girls increased 83 percent between 1988 and 1997. ❧ A Harvard dorm hosted a sex-toy workshop in which about 30 female students were shown demonstrations by an employee of Grand Opening, a local sex shop. ❧ A *New York Post* investigation found that at least one child is sexually abused by a New York City public school employee every day. About 75 percent of the victims are girls. Almost 20 percent of the offenders are homosexuals. ❧ New York removed an advertisement for a gay and lesbian health line from Bronx bus shelters after receiving several complaints. The ad featured two men and the caption "I'm not gay, but sometimes I have sex with other guys."

The lower house of Russia's parliament voted to enact a single corporate tax rate of 24 percent in an effort to spur economic growth. · · · Russia's personal income tax is a flat 13 percent. · · · 85 percent of Americans think a quarter or more of the federal budget surplus should be used for tax relief, according to a Rasmussen Research Poll. ❧ A Honolulu woman accidentally received a bill for $1.25 million from the state tax department. · · · The Internal Revenue Service admitted it lost about 1,800 checks sent in by taxpayers from New England and New York. ❧ Democrat **Mark R. Warner** is seeking the endorsement of the National Rifle Association in his bid for Virginia governor. · · · **Barbara Graham** of Maryland was sentenced to ten years to life for shooting the man she blamed for her son's death. Ms. Graham, who kept two guns in her bedside table, was active in Mothers on the Move Spiritually, a group that helped organize the anti-gun Million Mom March in 2000. ❧ New York Republican Governor **George Pataki** raised nearly $50,000 from mostly Democratic, African-American businessmen at a Harlem fundraiser. Those who paid $500 to attend included two Democratic mayors and baseball legend **Jackie Robinson**'s son. The money will go toward Pataki's re-election campaign. ❧ Recent Arbitron ratings show **Rush Limbaugh** to be even more popular in 2001 than in 2000. He's up in 13 of 16 major markets.

Reading scores for American fourth-graders haven't risen in eight years, according to the National Assessment of Educational Progress. · · · About 37 percent of fourth-grade children have "below-basic" reading competency levels, essentially meaning they can't read. · · · Per-pupil expenditures increased by more than 22 percent over the last 20 years. ❧ A colorblind Florida traffic-light installer is suing Palm Beach County after he was fired for not being able to distinguish red from green. He is filing suit under the Americans with Disabilities Act with the support of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. · · · A former Panama City Hooters waitress is suing the company after winning a beer sales contest. She thought she'd won a Toyota, when in fact her prize was a toy Yoda (a *Star Wars* doll). ❧ A German study finds that the nation needs to bring in as many as 50,000 skilled immigrants a year to overcome labor shortages resulting from a shrinking population. ❧ San Mateo County, California plans to offer its new top dogcatcher a pay package worth $250,000 a year.



"I'd eventually like to pursue a career in some kind of meaningful social work, once I get a handle on this homicidal mania thing."

The mayor of Moscow, **Yuri Luzhkov**, is trying to close the city's Salvation Army. Luzhkov reportedly told the local courts that the Salvation Army is a militarized group planning to overthrow the government. · · · The first Salvation Army opened in Russia in 1913. It was liquidated by **Lenin**'s secret police in 1923. ❧ British police are treating a haggis attack on a Scottish woman as a "racially-motivated hate crime." The haggis, a Scottish dish made of sheep stomach, was thrown through the woman's front window. · · · A black Ohio police officer faces departmental charges of racial profiling. The officer is accused of targeting Latinos.

In order to make him look taller, aides to Senate Majority Leader **Tom Daschle** stack phone books on his chair when Senator Daschle and House Minority Leader **Dick Gephardt** hold joint news conferences seated at a table.

—BB

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SCAN

LADIES' HEROIN JOURNAL

Holland's health ministry is financing a new glossy women's magazine, *Mainline Lady.* Filled with beauty, health, fashion, and sex tips, it is aimed exclusively at...er...lady drug addicts. The beauty section offers strategies on how to give drug-ravaged skin that healthy glow; in the first issue, a 38-year-old cocaine and heroin addict gets a makeover. A tattooed ex-addict poses for the fashion spread. And "Dear Doctor" addresses queries from syringe users concerned about catching AIDS. Horoscopes promise weight gain and romps in the sack, for which the ladies are advised to "make sure you have plenty of condoms."

While the mag does contain harrowing personal stories from addicts, it declines to urge its readers to kick the habit. "We treat people like adults," says editor Jasperine Schupp. "Getting them to chuck the habit is not our first priority." Female drug users "have lots of interests, and that's what we wanted to reflect in the magazine," explains Ms. Schupp.

The Dutch really should stick to tulips.

SPIKING RELIGION

For years now, media ombudsmen have noted that in the entire network television news universe, there is only one full-time religion correspondent—a deployment of resources that simply does not match the level of importance that everyday Americans place on religion.

As of October, there will be none. Today's sole correspondent—ABC's Peggy Wehmeyer—is being dismissed.

"Peggy just never seemed to get on track," explained ABC News executive vice president Paul Friedman. Apparently, the network's executives are slow in drawing conclusions, for Wehmeyer has been in her position since 1994. Did she spend seven years off track?

Without a single correspondent on the subject, TV coverage of religion will become even shallower than it is now. An example of the kind of reporting that will be lost is Wehmeyer's May 24 report on the deaths of Christian missionaries in the Amazon. She pointed out that 420,000 Christian missionaries fan out across the globe each year, often braving "harsh living conditions, hostile environments, and disease.... And every year, nearly 130 missionaries are killed because of their commitment to spreading the Gospel."

Is that information you knew? Is it something you were likely to learn elsewhere in the mainstream media? Certainly not. And the media blackout will become even darker in the months ahead.

ENVIRO-TERROR

Sarah Reichard, a conservation biologist with the University of Washington, had her office destroyed by fire on May 21, devouring years of research on the preservation of rare and endangered plant species. Catherine Ives, a researcher developing disease-resistant crops to combat African malnutrition and famine, had her office at Michigan State immolated on New Year's Eve, 1999. What do they have in common? They're scientists, and for a particularly impatient and violent wing of the environmental movement, science and development have become intolerable evils. They call themselves the "Earth Liberation Front." They're confirmed pyromaniacs, apparent scientific illiterates, and according to the FBI, one of the most significant domestic American terrorist threats since the Weather Underground.

They have, in their short career, caused some $40 million worth of property damage, and created a climate of fear for virtually anyone involved in what might possibly be construed by these "defenders of the Earth" as a threat to the environment.

In the course of three years, a moun-

"The merger of the two banks is expected to result in the loss of 10 jobs and 3,000 recorded messages."

DEMOCRATIC TAX CUT

Adapted from an Internet posting sent by a friend:

If you don't understand the Democrats' version of tax cuts, think of a baseball game that was rained out. The Democratic plan for sending out refunds says that in the interest of "fairness," people in the $10 seats should get back $15. People in the $15 seats will get back $15. People in the $25 seats will get back $1, because they're rich and don't need a refund. People in the $50 luxury seats will have to pay *another* $50, because they have way too much cash anyway. And the people loitering outside the stadium will get $10 each, even though they didn't pay anything in the first place, because they need help.

Now do you understand?

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taintop resort at Vail, Colorado has been burnt to the ground, as have homes under construction in new subdivisions as far apart as Indiana and Long Island. Several Long Island branches of a New York bank were vandalized—windows smashed, ATM machines smeared with glue—to protest the bank's business dealings with a British firm that practices animal testing. In early June, a GM dealership in Eugene, Oregon was set ablaze, reducing some 30 Chevrolet Tahoes and Suburbans to charred hulks. Logging operation across the country have been victims of repeated arson attacks. In Eugene, Oregon, home to a strong cell of ELF pyros, there have been over 140 arson fires since June 2000.

ELF recently posted an arsonist's primer on its Web site. It advises potential firebugs to "guarantee destruction of the target through careful planning and execution." It fails to mention that fire is fantastically hard to control. In a firebombing of the Boise Cascade headquarters in Oregon last year, several firemen were nearly burned alive when a roof collapsed.

The fire set at the University of Washington was intended for the office and lab of associate professor Toby Bradshaw, who breeds hybrid poplar trees. Bradshaw's trees are specifically intended for use on tree farms, with the aim of reducing dependence on logging of timberland. But Bradshaw was by no means the only victim. The entire center that housed his office and lab was consumed, destroying other labs, decades of research materials, and a good part of the science library. An Oregon farm that grew poplars based on Bradshaw's research was also put to the torch, destroying vehicles and equipment as well as acres of trees.

Only a few ELF "activists" have ever been apprehended: four teenagers in suburban New York, and the two individuals responsible for the attack on the Chevrolet dealership. The two Chevy-bombers, known to friends as "Free" and "Critter," were both sentenced to prolonged prison terms. No other ELF members have been apprehended or prosecuted.

The irony of the ELF actions is that a bigger, better Urban Horticulture Center is in development at the University of Washington, new Tahoes and Suburbans have been ordered at Romania Chevrolet in Eugene, Oregon, new ATMs have been installed at the vandalized Bank of New York branches, new homes have been built. Professor Bradshaw, who had backed up most of his research for security, wrote, "As any real environmentalist knows, fire is a powerful but ephemeral disturbance, and vigorous new growth often springs forth even before the ashes have cooled."

Sarah Reichard, Bradshaw's colleague, has no illusions about the true nature of ELF. "I wouldn't put an eco-terrorist label on it," she said. "I don't think that anything they're doing is ecological or to save the planet. They're just terrorists."

WASTE BASKET POLITICS

Irene Smith, a St. Louis alderwoman filibustering against a city redistricting map she claimed would damage black representation, refused to yield the floor at a council meeting. Then nature called. Aides handed her a wastebasket and held a tablecloth around her as she remained at the podium. The police cited her for urinating in public. But she successfully blocked the vote.

WHAT GOES AROUND COMES AROUND

Seattle Times *reporters Alex Tizon and Reid Forgrave recently produced some strong reporting on a serious national problem that is ignored in many cities. Following is a condensed version of their story "Wary of Racism Complaints, Police Look the Other Way in Black Neighborhoods."*

SEATTLE—The cops on the street have different names for it: de-policing, selective disengagement, tactical detachment. Whatever the term, rank-and-file officers in the Seattle Police Department say it is a spreading phenomenon in the city's black neighborhoods, and a logical reaction to chronic charges of police racism. De-policing is passive law enforcement: Officers consciously stop trying to prevent low-level crime, simply reacting to 911 calls. Many officers, wary of being labeled racists or racial profilers, say they hold back or bypass opportunities to make traffic stops or arrest black suspects.

Police Chief Gil Kerlikowske acknowledged that "some officers are being particularly cautious" in black neighborhoods because of the uproar over the police shooting death of 37-year-old Aaron Roberts on May 31. But Kerlikowske said he has seen no evidence that the trend has reached crisis proportions.

Roberts was shot dead by Officer Craig Price after allegedly dragging Price's partner, Greg Neubert, with his car. It was found later that Roberts was wanted for escaping a work-release program. Price and Neubert are both white. Captain Nick Metz, commander of the East Precinct and an African American, defended his officers, saying that the shooting was not racially motivated. It was the latest in a string of incidents that have put police at odds with some in the black community.

In April of last year, David John Walker, an African-American man with a history of mental illness, was shot dead by a white police officer near Seattle Center; Walker had shoplifted at a Queen Anne grocery, fired two shots, and skipped down the sidewalk waving a knife. In January 1996, a police officer accidentally shot and killed Edward Anderson, an unarmed black man, after a chase. Of the 31 people killed by Seattle police in the past two decades, nearly one-third were black. Community protests have intensified with each shooting.

Some officers say de-policing in black communities has increased as protests have increased. "It's real. It's happening," said Eric Michl, a Seattle patrol officer for 17 years. "Parking under a shady tree to work on a crossword puzzle is a great alternative to being labeled a racist and being dragged through an inquest, a review board, an FBI and U.S. Attorney's investigation, and a lawsuit."

Michl and other officers say they now question whether certain stops are worth the potential consequences. He described an incident one Friday night: A car turned left into oncoming traffic in the Crown Hill neighborhood, nearly

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WHO'S HOLDING THE MICROPHONE?

From a recent newspaper column by AEI senior fellow Ben Wattenberg: "A recent poll by the Princeton Survey Research Associates shows that 37 percent of the public self-categorizes itself as moderate, 35 percent conservative, and 21 percent liberal....

"The same poll also surveyed 'policy makers' and 'the media.' Just 18 percent of policy makers self-described themselves as conservatives—about half the national average. And just 6 percent of the media called themselves conservatives—one-sixth the national average."

causing an accident, then sped away. Michl said he stopped the car; the driver was a black man who acted very nervous and showed signs of being high on cocaine. The man carried no identification and no car registration, and he couldn't remember his birth date.

"Something was very suspicious," said Michl, who is white. "If he were any other race, I would have probably arrested him on the spot. But then I started thinking, 'What if he's on cocaine, what if we get in a fight and he dies, and then we find out he's only guilty of a suspended license.' I don't want to see my name in the papers."

Instead, Michl left the driver in the car while he walked back to his police cruiser to run a background check. The check revealed that the car was stolen. But the man, in the meantime, ran away. He eventually was captured, but Michl said it was distressing to go against his own police instincts. "There are a lot of us who are extremely frustrated about this," he said.

Last week, Officer Al Warner, a black officer assigned to the Central Area, stopped in front of Deano's bar on 20th Avenue and East Madison Street, where four black men were smoking marijuana in a car. The men accused Warner of racially profiling them. "It's the catch phrase now," Warner said. "If I were an African-American drug dealer here, that's the way I'd play the game. It intimidates officers." Warner said police in the Central Area have been less aggressive since the Roberts shooting and have switched to "reactive mode."

Some officers say police restraint during this year's Mardi Gras riots was an example of de-policing. Most of the suspects in the Mardi Gras violence were black, and police leaders, knowing the violence was being widely videotaped, didn't want officers battling with black suspects on TV. "It wouldn't have looked good," Michl said. But as police held back, a young white man was beaten to death by a mob.

Leaders in the black community said police must be able to take criticism, even when it's harsh, and still do their jobs.

Chief Kerlikowske downplayed the problem of de-policing, although he acknowledged that officers have expressed growing concern over charges of racial profiling. He said the "cautiousness" that officers have been showing in the black community and with black suspects is temporary; the same thing has happened in other cities. The Rodney King incident in Los Angeles, for example, had a chilling but short-term effect on officers nationwide. "We just want to make sure we're not doing something that will increase the tension," he said.

Officers who did not want to be named said another form of de-policing which is harder to quantify is the exodus of veteran officers from high-crime, minority-dominated neighborhoods. Veteran officers with seniority request transfers to neighborhoods where racial profiling isn't an issue. The result: Those who patrol the highest-crime areas often are the officers with the least experience.

Ken Saucier, a veteran of 16 years in the department who is black, says the real problem lies within the black community. Police are deployed according to crime incidents. The more crime in one neighborhood, the more police, and more potential for conflict. Saucier and other officers cite statistics that consistently show blacks commit a disproportionate number of crimes, especially violent crimes. Department of Justice studies show black males, who make up 6 percent of the population, commit 40 percent of violent crimes. The vast majority of the victims are also black.

Michl said the black community would be most affected by any kind of pervasive de-policing. He said most people don't understand that routine traffic stops, for example, play an important function, especially in high-crime areas. They show a police presence and spot the potential for crime. "We're telling the bad guys that we're here and we're watching them." If that stops, Michl said, it's only a matter of time before drug dealers and gang members take control of the streets.

Saucier's words of warning for Seattle: "Be careful what you wish for because you might get it."

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

If any city needs a worthy successor for its mayor, it is New York. The anointed Republican and Democratic challengers, offer little to get excited about. There has, however, been one interesting underdog in the race.

Puerto Rican immigrant Herman Badillo, former congressman and Bronx borough president, left the Democratic Party in 1998 after years of being branded a racist by fellow Democrats—for the sin of fighting for traditional tests and grades and an end to social promotion in New York schools. "If believing in standards means being a Republican, then so be it," he has concluded.

Now on the board of trustees of the City University of New York, Badillo has managed—in the face of slashing opposition—to make some strides against low expectations at CUNY, which is attended mostly by minorities. English literature is again being taught, and the kids get actual grades. The unassuming Badillo is less charismatic than Rudy Giuliani, but there is reason to believe the guts and tenacity he has displayed on education would extend to other issues under his management, including crime, which is the most important question mark for New York City after Giuliani's departure.

But the majority of the New York Republican establishment, including Governor George Pataki, threw their support to Michael Bloomberg, the

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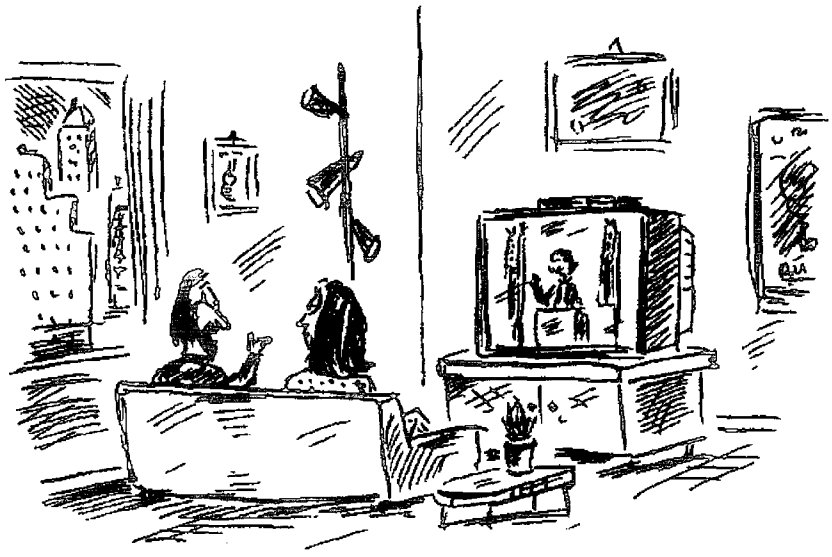
billionaire bachelor who became a Republican less than a year ago because, as he himself admits, the Democratic primary was already too full. Giuliani himself refused to endorse a candidate, which was surely a snub to Badillo.

Bloomberg has given gazillions of dollars to the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League and other pet liberal causes. His mayoral visions are built on Clintonian laundry lists of items like trusts for community gardens and more school uniforms.

In a city where Republicans have long acted like Democrats, and Democrats have long acted as leftwing zealots, it's no surprise that the GOP establishment backed celebrity and money over integrity and toughness. But it sure is a disgrace.



"Everything with this guy is "America" this, and "America" that. What about those of us who live in New York City?"

DASCHLED HOPES

Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle's job is simple: Find out what George Bush wants, and make sure it never happens. Bush endorses the rising of the sun in the east? Daschle sadly concludes that President Bush has abandoned the west in a risky scheme to give New Yorkers skin cancer.

Or, to choose a recent example: Bush proposes a consumer product safety commission chairman who thinks people are occasionally responsible for product misuse. Obviously, she's an industry shill. If people are burning their houses down by improperly cooking Pop-Tarts, Daschle's trial lawyer contributors are ready to help: Victims should be able to sue Kellogg's for not making a fireproof Pop-Tart with an internal thermometer and a self-extinguishing center. They should also be allowed to sue their HMOs for not paying for burn treatments that use the new Chilean Goat-Bile Paste treatment we read about in *Holistic Salve Quarterly*.

Daschle is on hand to guide our foreign policy as well. Bush walked away from a biological weapons treaty that would have violated national security, common sense, and the Constitution, and Daschle gives America a pained, brotherly smile and worries that we're becoming "isolationists." In a way, he's correct; we're stepping away from agreements crafted solely to give diplomats something to put on their résumés. ("2000: Banned land mines. 2001: Banned germ warfare. 2002: Banned war. 2003-05: Cowered in sewer while the bombs fell. 2006 to present: Rat-herder in Chinese Planetary Government.") Does co-President Daschle think we should sign bad treaties just so no one calls us names at the U.N. playground?

—**James Lileks** *is a columnist for the* Minneapolis Star Tribune.

FREE THE TEENAGER!

This spring, Planned Parenthood released a "manifesto" proclaiming that "young people must be supported by laws that will allow them to act freely in the way they choose to live their lives." As part of this, the statement urged, children have the right to express their sexuality "in the way they choose." In fact, "obstacles that make young people uncomfortable about themselves, their bodies, and their relationships must be removed."

Perhaps that includes parents?

MIXED MESSAGES ON CO-ED COMBAT TRAINING

Condensed from an August 7 Washington Times *report on efforts to end co-ed basic training in the U.S. military:*

Pro-military groups are pressing Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld to follow through on a Bush campaign promise to re-examine the training of male and female recruits in the same units and barracks. Fourteen pro-defense groups have signed a letter to Mr. Rumsfeld urging him to reverse the policy:

"In our view, military policies should encourage discipline, not sexual misconduct. There is ample evidence that training men and women together complicates and detracts from the training mission. Our members hope that you will act quickly to end this and other demoralizing personnel policies that have vitiated discipline and morale."

The letter comes as the Bush administration is sending signals that it has more pressing priorities. Mr. Rumsfeld said in an interview with the *Washington Times* in July that no one within the military has raised social issues with him. He said his focus is on carrying out President Bush's order to retool the armed forces to confront new, twenty-first-century threats.

A signer of the letter, Elaine Donnelly, who is president of the Center for Mili-

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DIVORCE ECHOES

From a new study by Professor Norval Glenn and Elizabeth Marquardt for the Institute for American Values and the Independent Women's Forum:

"College women from divorced families appeared more eager to marry, and wanted to marry sooner, but were less likely to believe that their future marriages would last. They were also less likely to report that they were raised with firm expectations about relationships with men, and less likely to report that their parents had told them to save sex for marriage. They were more likely to have 'hooked up' [exchanged casual sex], and if they did hook up, were more likely to have done so often—37 percent of college women whose parents had divorced reported hooking up more than six times."

tary Readiness and opposed to women in combat, said it is understandable that Mr. Rumsfeld is preoccupied, but suggested some of the defense secretary's top policy-makers should examine mixed-sex basic training. "Without proper attention, the agenda set in motion during the Clinton administration is moving ahead like a battleship on autopilot. Something has to be done to change course."

The letter quoted candidate Bush from January 2000: "Experts tell me that we ought to have separate basic training facilities." One of those experts, his national security adviser Condoleezza Rice, served on a blue-ribbon commission that in 1998 voted 11-0 in favor of separating recruits by sex. Then-Defense Secretary William Cohen had appointed the commission as a response to persistent reports that co-ed boot camp was riddled with lax training and discipline. Drill sergeants complained they were spending too much time policing illicit sex in the barracks.

"The present organizational structure in integrated basic training is resulting in less discipline, less unit cohesion, and more distractions from training programs," said the bipartisan commission headed by former Kansas Senator Nancy Kassebaum Baker. By wide margins, military trainers state in polls that discipline has fallen since training went co-ed in the early 1990s.

But the chiefs of the Army, Air Force, and Navy refused to follow the Kassebaum commission's recommendation, stating they preferred to "train as we fight." The Marine Corps has always trained male and female inductees in different units and barracks.

ECONOMISTS SUPPORT BUSH ON KYOTO

At a recent meeting of the nation's leading economists specializing in environmental analysis, there was a consensus that President Bush's refusal to commit the U.S. to the Kyoto global warming treaty was an inevitable acknowledgement that the treaty is a horrible economic deal for the U.S. Richard Schmalensee of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology calculated that the U.S. would have to close *all* of its coal-fired power plants by 2012 just to get *halfway* to Kyoto's targets. Alan Manne of Stanford estimated that following the Kyoto requirements would be the equivalent of implementing a tax of $1,600 per year on every family of four. "It may well be unworkable," concluded William Nordhaus of Yale, who served on the Council of Economic Advisers under Jimmy Carter.

WISHFUL THINKING ON GUNS

In early August, the U.S. Senate rejected by a vote of 65-33 an amendment that would have given the Department of Housing and Urban Development $15 million to continue its gun buy-back program. Missouri Republican Christopher Bond denounced the program as "feel good" legislation that had little effect on crime. Others agree.

Garen Wintemute of the University of California describes buy-back programs as "a triumph of wishful thinking over all the available evidence." "The guns that get turned in in buy-backs are simply not the same guns that would otherwise be used in crime," reports Harvard University researcher David Kennedy. "It probably has less effect on people with criminal intentions," admits Naomi Presse of The Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence. Josh Sugarman of the Violence Policy Center notes that "gun buy-back programs have very little effect on death and injury." Over 70 percent of police officers shrug off such efforts as a "public relations ploy."

Despite their ineffectiveness, more than 50 U.S. cities have experimented with gun buy-backs. Some cities even broadened the scope of the programs to include toy guns. The city of New Orleans staged a gun buy-back, traded the weapons to Glock, Inc. in return for new police sidearms, and then sued the gun industry for putting guns on the market. Nike offered gift certificates good toward the purchase of new shoes to those who traded in guns. Gun maker CZ-USA responded by promising anyone who sent in his old sneakers a discount on a new CZ pistol. A Los Angeles psychiatrist even offered free therapy sessions to anyone who turned in a gun to the city—leading gun owners to joke that if you get rid of your gun in L.A. you *need* therapy.

Sadly, the individuals most likely to sell their guns to the state are senior citizens and women—the very people who most benefit from having a firearm for self-defense. Meanwhile, independent studies in Sacramento, Seattle, St. Louis, and Boston all conclude there is no evidence that gun buy-back programs do anything to reduce gun-related crimes.

CHINESE CHURCH BURNING

As the Chinese government increases persecution of Christians and other religious believers, it is destroying places of worship in large numbers. More than 200 churches and temples have recently been torn down or blown up in Wenzhou, China, according to *The Daily Telegraph*. Another 239 small houses of worship, many of them home to underground congregations, were forced to close.

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Forward Observer

James Glassman

Social Security Reform Is Gonna Happen

Some sort of Social Security reform that allows Americans to invest a portion of their payroll taxes in a personal account is now, I believe, inevitable; probably by the end of 2003. George W. Bush is serious about privatizing—or, more delicately, personalizing—Social Security, and so is former Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the liberal icon who wants reform as his own legacy.

The logic is powerful. The Presidential commission headed by Moynihan says that the Social Security system is beset by a "crisis of confidence," engendered by demographics and the faulty structure that Franklin Roosevelt erected in an emergency nearly 70 years ago. The retirement portion of Social Security is an *unfunded* pension plan. The money to pay current retirees comes from taxes on current workers, not from money they put away during their employed years. This worked in 1940, when there were 42 workers for every retiree. But, thanks to longer lifespans, fewer children, earlier retirement, and other changes, there will soon be only two workers paying into Social Security for every retiree drawing checks out. That can't work.

Within about 15 years, annual payments will exceed annual payroll tax revenues. From where will the Treasury get the difference? There are only two sources: higher taxes or heavy borrowing. It's not a pretty picture.

"The system is broken," said the preliminary July 18 report of the commission. The right repair is not a system that depends on the vagaries of demographics and the whims of politicians but rather on the long-term savings of individual workers—the same way a sensible private pension plan works. The first step is to divert a portion of payroll taxes—perhaps a fifth of the money that employers and employees now send to Washington for the retirement portion of Social Security.

This would be money well invested. The average two-earner couple born in 2000, with low-to-medium wages, will earn just 1.9 percent annually at retirement as a result of contributions to Social Security. No pension manager in America could keep a job with those returns over a 35-year working lifetime. Americans of all stripes do much better in their private investments.

Opponents make two arguments against allowing Americans to put some of their payroll taxes in retirement accounts that they can own and pass on to their kids, churches, or charities. Both arguments are factually incorrect.

They claim that Social Security is not broken, so don't fix it. But Social Security will run out of money in 2016 or thereabouts, no question about it.

Opponents also say that letting workers put money into the stock market is too risky. Stocks are risky, but only in a specific way: They are volatile in the short term (à la the 2000 tech bust). Over any long run, however, stocks are actually quite safe. As Jeremy Siegel of the Wharton School has written: "The safest long-term investment for the preservation of purchasing power has clearly been stocks."

In a recent study, Liqun Liu and two other economists at Texas A&M University looked at every overlapping 35-year period stretching back 128 years. The average annual return after inflation for a portfolio consisting of the 500 stocks of the Standard & Poor's benchmark index (or its predecessor) was 7 percent. Over the very *worst* 35-year period—during the Great Depression—annual returns came to 2.7 percent. In other words, even the worst period for stocks produced returns about one-third higher than the expected return from Social Security for a couple born this year.

Over 128 years, even the worst period for stocks produced returns one-third higher than today's Social Security.

"Virtually all young people entering the labor market can expect a rate of return on their Social Security taxes of less than 2 percent," write the study's authors. By contrast, a highly conservative portfolio composed of stocks (60 percent) and top-rated corporate bonds (40 percent) produced average annual returns—from 1872 to 2000—of 5.8 percent, or about triple the rate of Social Security returns.

Diverting just one-fifth of a worker's Social Security taxes into a private account would, after 35 years, produce an annual income equal to 43 percent of what he'd get from today's Social Security, which demands contributions five times as great.

The stock market is not for everyone, but it is absolutely the best place for people with a 35-year time horizon to put their money. That is why personal accounts of the sort that President Bush will almost certainly propose are such a great opportunity for Americans who can't scrape together their own private investments.

Americans understand the truth about long-term investing. Already, 50 percent of families own stocks, and 40 percent have 401(k) plans—which will become the framework of a reformed, personalized retirement system. That's why being optimistic about changing Social Security for the better is not naive.

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"Live with TAE"

This quirky Southerner is one of America's most distinguished and original historians. Here he discusses states' rights versus national government, the Founding Fathers, the Supreme Court, political parties, and our greatest Presidents.

Forrest McDonald

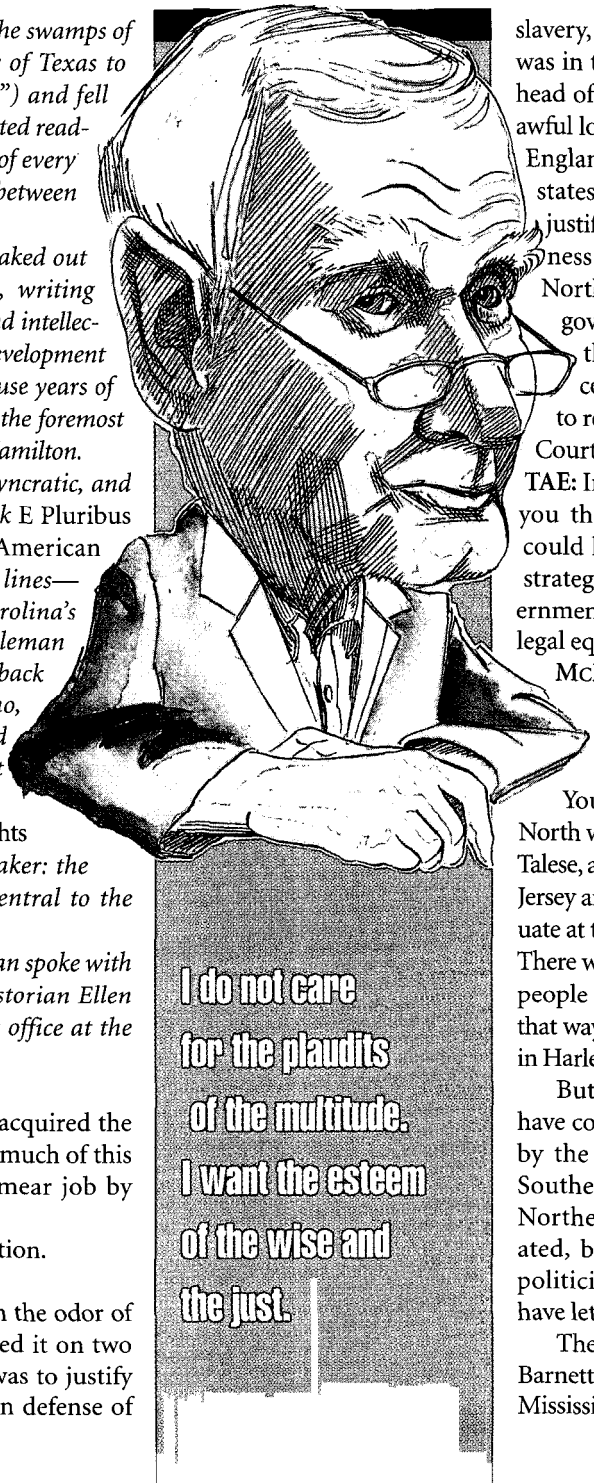
Forrest McDonald was a boy from "the swamps of Texas" who went to the University of Texas to play baseball ("great fielder, no hit") and fell into the study of history when he started reading accounts in the New York Times *of every major-league baseball game played between 1901 and 1943.*

As a historian, McDonald has staked out the pre-Abner Doubleday republic, writing now-classic books on the economic and intellectual origins of the Constitution, the development of the Presidency, and the White House years of Washington and Jefferson. He is also the foremost explicator of the mind of Alexander Hamilton.

McDonald is independent, idiosyncratic, and refreshingly irreverent. His landmark E Pluribus Unum: The Formation of the American Republic *is filled with memorable lines—like his description of South Carolina's Pierce Butler as "an Irish-born nobleman who traced his ancestry all the way back to somebody-or-other but who, stripped of his genealogy, would scarcely have been noticed by his next door neighbor."*

McDonald's latest book, States' Rights and the Union, *is another pathbreaker: the first general survey on this issue central to the makeup of the American republic.*

TAE *associate editor Bill Kauffman spoke with Forrest McDonald and his wife, historian Ellen Shapiro McDonald, in McDonald's office at the University of Alabama.*



TAE: The term "states' rights" has acquired the odor of racism over the years. How much of this is deserved and how much is a smear job by advocates of centralized power?

McDONALD: That's a loaded question.

TAE: Many of these are.

McDONALD: States' rights took on the odor of racism because Southerners invoked it on two very unfortunate occasions. One was to justify the coming of the Civil War and in defense of slavery, which was not defensible, and the other was in the 1950s, when Southerners raised it to head off integration. But it's been invoked by an awful lot of other people for sound reasons. New Englanders in the War of 1812 took a staunch states' rights position, which was thoroughly justified. It was a stupid war: We had no business fighting Great Britain at that time. The Northerners, in the 1850s, figured the federal government was totally under the control of the Southerners, and they'd never gain control of it, and they invoked states' rights to resist actions of Congress and the Supreme Court. So it could be used either way.

TAE: In pursuing equal rights under the law, do you think that blacks in the 1950s and '60s could have designed an effective states' rights strategy, or was action by a strong central government the only way they could have achieved legal equality?

McDONALD: The South was making progress, but I don't think it likely that they would ever have obtained total legal equality without a push from the outside. You have to remember, though, that the North was just as segregated as the South was. Gay Talese, a fine reporter and novelist, grew up in New Jersey and by a flukish accident was an undergraduate at the University of Alabama in the early '50s. There was nothing shocking to him about the way people lived in Alabama, because it was exactly that way in Ocean City, New Jersey, in Manhattan, in Harlem, and so on.

But I guess my answer is that it could not have come about except for a series of decisions by the Supreme Court, violent resistance by Southerners, and the play upon all this by the Northern press—which was greatly exaggerated, by the way. The press forced Northern politicians, most of whom would rather just have let the thing alone, into a corner.

The confrontation between [Governor] Ross Barnett and the Kennedys at Ole Miss in Oxford, Mississippi was wonderful: It was all prearranged.

Illustration by Lucinda S. Levine

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Bobby Kennedy talked with Ross Barnett, and they agreed that the confrontation would take place on such and such a date, there would be x federal marshals there, and the government would back down. So here is just opportunism and statecraft, which is characteristic of the Kennedys. Though I must say that Bobby was a great deal more human than Jack. He really did have the wits to sympathize with Martin Luther King when he first went to Birmingham jail. It would never have occurred to Jack. Jack had never seen black people. He could only measure in terms of political calculations. Jack has the image of an idealist and Bobby is the cutthroat, but Bobby had genuine feelings, and Jack was simply above it.

TAE: Since the '60s, has states' rights lost some of its odium?

McDONALD: It has. The most interesting sign of a revival of states' rights is the decisions of the United States Supreme Court over the last five years. The particular issues may not be important, but they've been reading the 11th Amendment, which exempts states from suits by a citizen of another state or foreigners in the federal courts, as applying also to citizens of the same state, so that a citizen of Alabama cannot sue the state of Alabama in a federal court. Boy, that has strong states' rights implications.

TAE: Republicans talk about the 10th Amendment and devolution, but they also want the federal government to nullify statewide votes to legalize medical marijuana, and they impose a national drunk-driving standard on the states. Is states' rights more often a strategy than a hard-and-fast principle?

McDONALD: The creation of "federal crimes" is politically popular, or at least the people in Congress think it is, but these people are totally without Constitutional scruples. I doubt if many of them ever read the Constitution. I mean that absolutely seriously.

TAE: What role do mobility and rootlessness play in undermining support for states' rights?

MRS. McDONALD: I think it's the reverse. People who are mobile and rootless *want* states' rights—so they can get out of one state and go somewhere different. It's the principle of being able to escape.

McDONALD: Back in my younger days, I had a heavy foot. I never drove under 80 miles an hour. I had an awful lot of outstanding speeding tickets. I'd get one in the state of Missouri...

MRS. McDONALD: And we'd just never go back to Missouri.

McDONALD: It's a great thing about the United States: The law varies from state to state, and if you don't like it in Illinois, you can go to Wisconsin...heaven forbid.

It's a great thing about the U.S.: The law varies from state to state, and if you don't like it here, you can go to there.

TAE: Wars, including the Cold War, also threw the federal-state relationship out of whack, didn't they?

McDONALD: The government has got to grow like crazy during a war. There's no way around that. But, historically, it would always go back and be more or less the way it was before. Then a flukish thing happened: The New Deal came along and started building up government, then World War II, and then they couldn't retrench in 1946 because of the Cold War, and it just never went back. So the mammoth growth of the federal government was partly a function of the New Deal, largely a function of World War II, and very much a function of the Cold War.

Today, in the absence of the likelihood of a real war, other things shape whether people favor federal or state governance. And I think a dangerous imbalance is developing. The genius of the American party system has always been that each party has a very broad tent, so that the Republican Party could, in the '60s, handle everyone from Jake Javits on the left to Barry Goldwater on the right. The Democrats could handle ultra-states'-rights Southerners and Hubert Humphrey. Occasionally, political scientists have said, "Why don't we have parties that really stand for something instead of these big blobs?" The genius of the system is that in working that way it prevents extremism.

But take [Senator] Jeffords. He can't live with the conservatives in his party. The Republican Party is getting more conservative and the Democratic Party is getting more liberal, including all these people who are at the federal teat, which means a lot of corporations as well as poor people.

The balance of the system is going to be disturbed if that polarization continues. All the states' rightsers would be in one party and all the nationalizers in the other, and we just might zigzag on a very hectic course.

At the time of the Revolution and shortly thereafter, Pennsylvania was the first state to develop a working two-party system. The two parties were polar opposites, truly ideological parties. One gang would gain control of the legislature and repeal everything that the other gang had done, and the next year they would reverse it. There was no stability.

TAE: Did you enjoy the post-election show in Florida, where you had Gore Democrats speaking of the sanctity of states' rights and Bush Republicans urging strong action by the national government?

McDONALD: I thought it was hilarious, that this Supreme Court, which has been so states' rights,

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comes in and just knocks the Florida Supreme Court down with—pow!—the back of their hand.

The Supreme Court's most important political sense is to protect themselves. But if they're feeling self-confident, they don't need to worry about that. The Supreme Court buried itself in the 1850s by the *Dred Scott* decision. It just undermined their credibility and it was not until well after the Civil War that they began to gain respect again.

On the opposite hand, in the 1950s the Supreme Court won for itself a huge amount of moral capital by the *Brown* decision and subsequent decisions in the same direction. The explosion of judicial activism in the next two decades came because everybody thought, wow, the Supreme Court justices are the only people in this country who are for justice.

TAE: You've written that George Washington "looked like a leader." How important are looks to a successful Presidency?

McDONALD: Tremendously. The Presidency is two jobs. One is running the executive branch, and the other is to act as surrogate king. It's just programmed into our very bones to want a king. Now there's a wide range of leadership styles that we've found acceptable, but a President who doesn't look and act what we think of as "Presidential" can't cut it. Washington was 6'2 1/2" tall, broad-shouldered, slim-hipped, in a nation of short, fat people. Man, he looked like a leader. On horseback he was magnificent.

In 1783, the army was encamped at Newburgh, New York. The officers, who had been years without pay, were in a rebellious mood, and from the tent of Horatio Gates, the spurious hero of the Battle of Saratoga, one of his aides de camp circulated letters calling for a meeting of the officers with the suggestion that we'll not disband the army until we obtain justice. That's like a challenge to a duel. Washington was not invited to the meeting, but he learned of it, and to the surprise of the assembled officers he came in. He had a little piece of paper with him. He reached into his vest pocket and pulled out a pair of spectacles, and said, "You will forgive me, gentlemen, but I've not only grown gray in the service of my country but almost blind."

Wow! Nobody knew he wore glasses: He was vain about that. He proceeded to give them a speech which was taken straight out of a play by Joseph Addison called *Cato*. All the officers had seen it, because he had staged it for them. But he had them in tears. He turned and went out, and that broke up the mutiny. He did that kind of thing all his life.

In the eighteenth century, people in public life played roles. You wore an idealized mask. You picked a character and tried to play it, and to the extent you played it successfully, it grew on you.

TAE: He was very conscious of being the "Father of His Country," wasn't he? Did that make him stilted and artificial?

McDONALD: Not really. In the eighteenth century, people in public life played roles. You wore a mask. You picked a character and tried to play it, and to the extent you played it successfully, it grew on you. The phrase "second nature" comes from this practice.

Washington played a succession of characters, each a little nobler, a little more exalted, a little finer than the last one, until he was being called "the Father of His Country."

TAE: How much does it matter that George W. Bush comes across in his public appearances as intellectually limited?

McDONALD: It's not going to hurt him a bit. I don't think people are comfortable with people who come across as too damn bright. That was part of Nixon's problem.

Bush has learned quickly how to make jokes about it. He belittles the whole thing; he does some of those foot-in-mouth things quite on purpose, and that endears him to people.

TAE: Have there been stupid men who were successful Presidents?

McDONALD: The early ones were very intelligent, up through John Quincy Adams. Andrew Jackson wasn't very bright, and he certainly wasn't well educated. Jackson said any man who can only spell a word one way has got to have something wrong with him. He was shrewd, and I think his Presidency was a catastrophe, but in his own terms, he was very successful. He set out to destroy the Bank of the United States, and he did so. He set out to undermine the John Marshall Supreme Court, and he did so. He set out to get the federal government out of internal improvements, and he did so.

MRS. McDONALD: It's easier to think of bright men who failed. Herbert Hoover was an outstanding intellect. James Garfield could write Latin with one hand and Greek with the other.

TAE: Almost a decade ago you wrote, "President Nixon's stock has risen sharply in the past few years. It is my personal belief that someday he will be reckoned one of the great or near-great Presidents." Is Nixon's stock still rising?

McDONALD: Yeah. He understood international relations better than any man in the federal government since Alexander Hamilton. He took the steps that made it possible to win the Cold War, which is to say he realized that the Soviet Union and China were not the same thing. International communism was not a monolith, so what we had to do was divorce the two communist powers and

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build power blocs like in the nineteenth century, so that the United States could threaten to come in on this side or that side.

TAE: As far back as the '70s, you credited the Fawn Brodie claim, since amplified by others, that Thomas Jefferson probably fathered a child or children by Sally Hemings. Do you still believe that?

McDONALD: No! I had always assumed that the charges were true because a fellow named Winthrop Jordan, who was a graduate student at Brown when I first went there, published a very good book which mentioned, in passing, that every time Jefferson was away for some time and then came back to Monticello, nine months later, Sally Hemings had a baby.

So I thought, "Well, he did it." Then the DNA evidence came out. In the first place, the guy who was the best candidate for being a Jefferson kid has been proved by the DNA not to be a Jefferson.

Second, the only one that they have pinned down with the DNA was conceived when Jefferson was 65 and subject to fierce migraine headaches.

Third, there were 15 or 20 Jefferson men on the premises at the time who could have been the father.

MRS. McDONALD: Once Jefferson left the Presidency and came home permanently, Hemings never had another child.

TAE: Did the fact that you're a Hamilton man in the great Hamilton-Jefferson divide make you more likely to believe this story?

McDONALD: It predisposed me, yeah, but that's one reason why the chairman of the Jefferson-Hemings Scholars' Commission wanted me on: Because I'm clearly identified as being in the Hamilton camp.

TAE: You've written that "Madison was and is perhaps the most difficult of all the Founding Fathers to understand." Here we are in the 250th anniversary of his birth, and no one cares. Why?

McDONALD: A number of reasons. He was not consistent over his career. The Madison of 1788 writes the *Federalist* essays, and the Madison of 1798 writes the anti-nationalist Virginia resolutions. You can't get there from here.

Another reason is that he was *not* the father of the Constitution. He was the father of the Bill of Rights. My wife once made a study of all the strong positions he took in the Constitutional Convention, and on less than half of them was he in the majority. He wanted the Congress to review all state legislation, not on constitutionality but on principle. You can imagine what Congress would be like today—even worse than it is.

One thing he had going for him was he lived so damn long. He was a hypochondriac: dying every day of his life. But he lived until 1836, by far the last of the Framers to be alive, plus he kept a journal and was able to decide what went into that.

Because old-time Southerners were apt to kill each other at the drop of a hat, they developed very good manners, being careful not to offend anybody.

MRS. McDONALD: He had no pizzazz. He was scrawny. All this whining, ill health, and complaints: What a kvetch! His mind was too subtle.

McDONALD: Political scientists love him; he gives 'em good stuff to chew on.

TAE: I think of Alabama as a state with intense local patriotism: Bear Bryant and "Sweet Home Alabama"—though Bryant was from Arkansas, and Lynyrd Skynyrd from Florida. Is Alabama still Alabama, or has homogenization wiped it out?

McDONALD: In terms of accent, the kids in class sound like the kids at Brown. Local patriotism turns on football. But Southerners are still different people. By and large, they're lazier than Northerners, though air conditioning has changed that. They're still less materialistic, very religious, prone to violence, and have good manners. These last two go together: Old-time Southerners were apt to kill each other at the drop of a hat, so you were very careful not to offend anybody. The one departure from good manners is that they all wear caps indoors, and you can't get 'em not to. But that's a recent affectation.

MRS. McDONALD: You would never find in Ohio the generosity and the kindness that you find here. It's very sweet.

TAE: Do you really write your books in the nude?

McDONALD: Yeah. Brian Lamb [of C-SPAN] asked, "If I watched you write, what would I see?" I started to giggle. I said you'd see me naked. We live out in the country; for years they didn't even read the electric meter, because they couldn't find it. Total isolation, and it gets very hot.

MRS. McDONALD: We don't have air conditioning.

TAE: On principle?

MRS. McDONALD: Yes.

TAE: Eugene Genovese wrote of you in the *Atlantic*, "That he has not received the honors he has earned illustrates the extent to which the profession wallows in neo-McCarthyism, systematically ignoring conservative historians when it does not slander them." Do you feel beleaguered or slandered?

McDONALD: I've never felt that. I've had some hard knocks. Early in my career, I was subjected to tremendous pressure by the liberal establishment. But I've had an awfully good life in the game, and as I wrote Gene, I am with Cato and Washington and Hamilton: I do not care for the plaudits of the multitude. I want the esteem of the wise and the just.

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By Bart Hinkle

Does The U.S. Need New Weapons For New Wars?

It was a good tour, says the petty officer aboard the *U.S.S. Harry S. Truman*, just back from Operation Southern Watch in the Persian Gulf. The six-month deployment was a success, he says, because this time out no one died. Quite often someone does. Of course there were the regular "lumps and bumps" among the 6,000 personnel aboard, but fewer of the usual serious injuries: broken bones, fractured skulls, painful burns from steam pipes and jet blasts.

Sailors and pilots must expect an elevated risk of injury on an aircraft carrier, which can handle two outgoing planes and one incoming plane every 30 seconds. The 70,000-pound fighters (and even bigger specialized planes) go from zero to 165 miles per hour in two seconds, in the space of 300 feet. They do so at night, in all kinds of weather, on pitching seas that roll the vessel as much as 14 degrees. The area of the flight deck is 4.5 acres, but to the pilots coming in it looks like a postage stamp. Sailors get blown overboard by wind and jet wash, and if the safety netting on the side doesn't catch them it's a good 50- to 60-foot fall to the ocean.

The 85-bed hospital can do appendectomies, laparoscopies, and vasectomies. It has a digital X-ray machine that can e-mail images to Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland for consultations. The medical staff performs two to three combat and mass-casualty drills per week. A while back a film crew asked Lloyd's of London to evaluate the carrier. The insurance company deemed its work environment the most dangerous in the world.

The average age of the crew is nineteen and a half.

Such perilous work conditions can create considerable stress. And the crew is away from home for six months at a time, often in hostile territory. So to maintain morale, the *Truman* boasts five full gyms, seven satellite gyms, a chapel, a library, a post office, a drug store, and a mini-mart. The ship has its own TV and radio stations (the call-in show "Ask the Chief" airs weekly), its own newspaper, Internet access, ATMs, and 2,000 telephones. The crew may avail itself of the virtual MBA program, the televisions in the berthing spaces, and the fully operating movie theater (the ship has a deal with Hollywood to get first-run flicks). The mess serves steak and shrimp every week, and offers an ice-cream bar with "all the toppings you can think of," as one crewman who has gained ten pounds since coming aboard puts it.

The nation's enemies see none of that. What they see is a 97,000-ton leviathan surging toward them at 30 knots, loaded down with 80 aircraft capable of taking out a city. America's 12 aircraft carriers represent the bristling might of the world's most powerful nation.

And Andrew Marshall would like to see them scrapped.

Advanced in years, publicity-shy, bespectacled, Marshall has long headed the Pentagon's internal think tank, the Office of Net Assessment. Put in charge of the Bush administration's proposed major military overhaul by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, he has sharply polarized the defense community. Marshall's allies and protégés revere him, calling the Office of Net Assessment "St. Andrew's Prep." His enemies despise him, deriding his acolytes as "Jedi Knights."

The present storm surrounding Marshall centers on his push for a "Revolution in Military Affairs"—a sweeping transformation of the armed forces' mission, structure, strategy, and tactics. Boiled down to its essence, Marshall's vision consists of a smaller military armed with highly advanced communications and weapons, widely dispersed but well networked, fighting a highly automated war from a distance. He frowns on "forward deployment" such as American troops based overseas and carriers plying the waters off foreign shores. He believes such forces are too vulnerable to high-tech weapons such as the Russian-built, China-bought SS-N-22 "Sunburn" cruise missile, designed to sink carriers.

The U.S., Marshall contends, is stuck in a Cold War mindset and needs to fundamentally rethink its strategy. He believes future conflicts will be fought quickly by highly mobile forces, and that the heavy weaponry on which our current armed forces rely takes too long to transport. There will be no more six-month buildups like the one prior to Desert Storm. The conflict in Kosovo, for instance, was over before the buildup was complete. Marshall deems even the F-22 Raptor, still in prototype, outdated.

So what would he like to see in America's holster instead? A great many bold new fighting technologies are on their way to becoming realities. Following are some examples of weapons systems and combat approaches that meet Marshall's criteria for future warfighting, and might conceivably be in the field within the next few years:

• UCAVs are Unmanned Combat Air Vehicles—essentially fighter and bomber drones. With UCAVs, designers need not worry about tailoring the machine to suit a pilot's needs: Field of view, physical protection and life support, and ejection from a damaged plane are not needed. UCAVs thus cost far less than manned fighters, and operational costs are also lower because the controllers can practice on simulators, saving both fuel and wear and tear. And destruction of a plane brings no human loss. But

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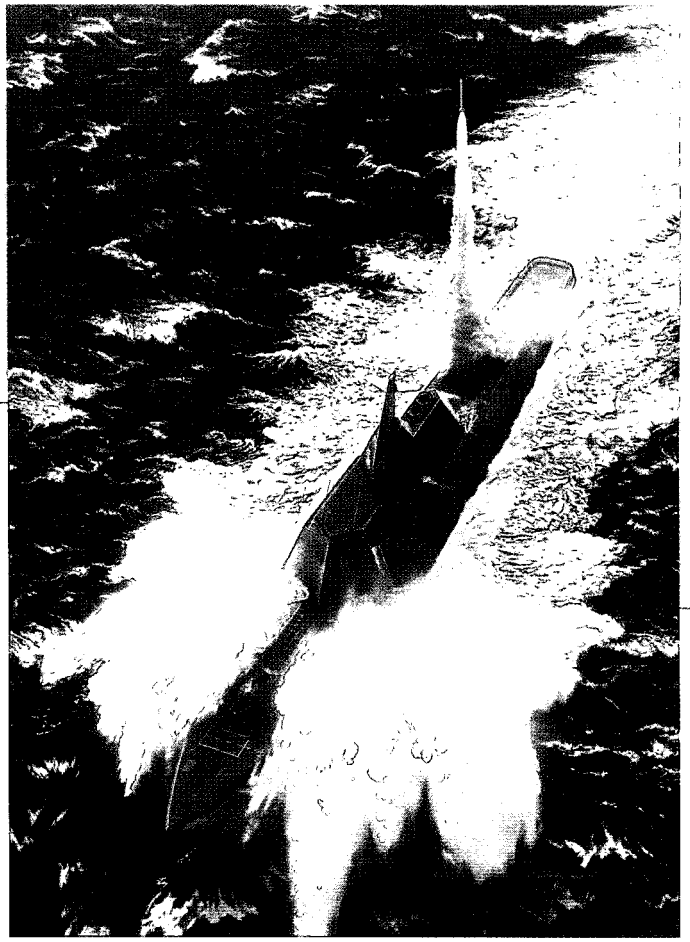
America's fighting forces are still organized and armed to fight battles against an enemy that no longer exists.



Artist's conception courtesy of the Navy Visual News Service

Aircraft Carrier Substitute Heavily armed, lightly crewed, and capable of submersing themselves to hide from enemies, arsenal ships would launch volleys of missiles to do much of the work now done by carrier-based bombers.

eliminating the pilot does have its downsides: Should communication be lost, a drone cannot adapt and improvise to changing circumstances. On the other hand, a downed drone would not have led to the type of international incident that ensued when the U.S. EP-3E was forced to land on Hainan Island; controllers could simply order one to self-destruct in such an incident.

• Arsenal ships would be large, lightly manned, and highly armed alternatives to cruisers and aircraft carriers. In various configurations, arsenal ships could serve as floating (or semi-submersed, for stealthiness) missile barges. Targeting would be done from remote locations; the ship would receive coordinates and then launch a volley of Tomahawk missiles, for example. Arsenal ships offer significant savings in operational costs because the crew would be tiny, probably numbering in the dozens. Yet the ships could deliver the same firepower as several cruisers requiring more than 1,000 sailors. More ships could be built for a given investment, placing less reliance on a few platforms. As with UCAVs, however, a break in communications could cripple the arsenal ship.

• Streetfighters are small naval vessels designed to sneak in close to shore, clear mines, launch missiles, destroy coastal subs, and act as a screen for off-shore forces. They could also overwhelm larger enemy vessels by force of numbers. Such ships could have a modular design, making them quickly adaptable for different missions. And their size and speed would make them tough targets. In the Navy's Global 2000 wargame, officers found them "very difficult targets for submarines," according to Vice Admiral Arthur Cebrowski, president of the Naval War College and a champion of the concept. But their numbers, size, and firepower almost guarantee that some would be destroyed, leading critics to deride them as "disposable ships."

• Corsair is a 6,000-ton aircraft carrier concept (one-sixteenth the tonnage of the *Truman*), also promoted by Cebrowski. The Corsair could supplant the supercarrier by distributing air power among several ships instead of one. It offers the advantage of flexibility and maneuverability, and the ships could go places—such as through the Panama Canal—that supercarriers cannot. Moreover, pocket carriers could provide air cover for operations for which the Navy was not willing to divert a large ship. One difficulty, however, would be their stability in rough seas.

• Sea Lance is a proposed fast-moving attack ship built on a catamaran hull. Conceived by junior officers studying at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California, the ship is designed to be deployed in large numbers and used to deliver weapons or special forces to shore. It would cost a tenth as much as a destroyer, operate in extremely shallow water—as little as 10 feet—and operate with a crew of only 13. Its speed and small size would enable it to evade detection and tow weapons on trailers into position near the coast. The loss of one, or even several, would not render the squadron inoperable, the way a single missile could disable a destroyer.

• Older ballistic missile submarines—such as the four *Ohio*-class boats scheduled to be decommissioned by 2004—could be converted to carry cruise missiles instead of nuclear weapons. Extremely stealthy, the subs could destroy missile batteries and other targets on land that threaten surface ships and airplanes. Their missiles would have a longer range than carrier-based aircraft, their use would not put pilots in harm's way, and they cost considerably less than a carrier.

• Land Warrior is a digital system for infantrymen that combines a portable computer, GPS location-finder, video rifle sight, laser range-finder, and communication network. The system improves combat locating, communication, and lethality. Land Warrior does raise questions of information overload.

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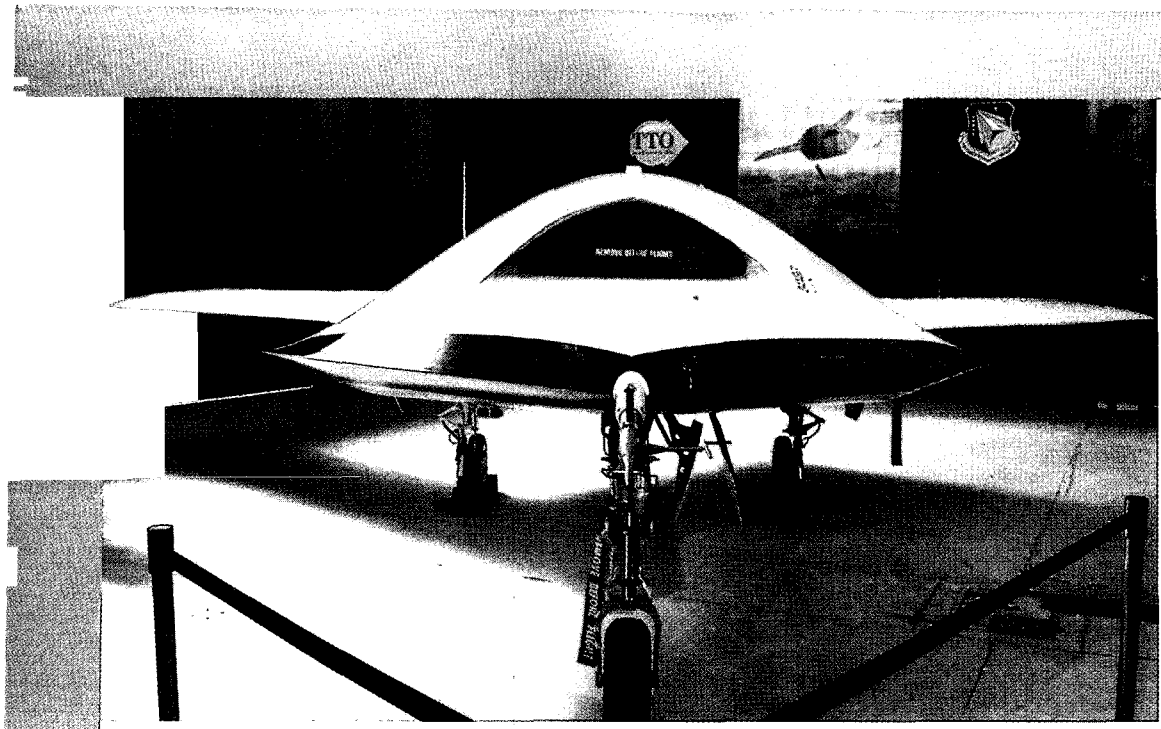

AP Photo/Tom Gannam

Unmanned Fighter/Bomber So-called UCAVs (Unmanned Combat Air Vehicles) are maneuvered from the ground, going into harm's way without a pilot on board.

Would soldiers see the forest beyond the trees of information on their screens?

Some wonder whether the U.S. military needs such radical new technologies. After all, the Soviet Union is kaput and Russian arms production has plummeted 90 percent in the past decade. China is populous and soaring in technological sophistication, but still very poor. Military spending and arms imports are actually down in troublesome countries like Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and North Korea. The U.S. slice of world military spending is higher now than it was in 1985. Based on such facts, someone looking to scale back the military could make a fairly credible case against developing new programs and weapons.

But the balance sheet has another side. The nature of foreign threats is changing. Today's terrorism is more extremist in nature and has vastly improved access to advanced technology and weaponry. Rogue states may not be expanding their armies, but they are developing weapons of mass destruction, and the intercontinental missiles capable of delivering them. Moreover, China has grown increasingly aggressive. Winning its bid to host the 2008 Olympics might temper China's behavior in the short term, but its increasingly hostile nationalistic rumblings are likely to have some military expression over the long run.

For its own part, the American military suffers on several counts. Despite three major recent reviews—the Base Force Review, the Bottom-Up Review, and the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review—our forces remain largely unchanged structurally, though reduced in size, since the end of the Cold War. Even with reductions, the services continue to fall short of recruitment targets. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the rise of new enemies has dramatically shifted the threats faced by the U.S. Yet this hasn't been matched by a comparable reorientation of our offensive and defensive forces.

While some insist the U.S. military remains mired in the industrial era, bypassed by the information revolution, that is somewhat of an exaggeration. Desert Storm was indeed fought to a considerable degree with Vietnam-war technology. But the force deployed in Kosovo relied more heavily on electronics, stealth technology, and other post-computer-revolution innovations. All the same, it took the U.S. weeks and months just to get critical weapons into a position where they could be applied in battle in the Balkans.

At the time of World War II, France—believing in the traditional brute-force model of warfighting—took great comfort in having both more tanks and more artillery than Germany. But that made no difference against Germany's strategy of blitzkrieg ("lightning war"). Speed and technology trumped military mass.

Today, suggests Admiral William Owens, former Joint Chiefs vice chair, "synergy wins." The key is to weave forces together using new communications, surveillance, transport, and targeting tools. And reformers needn't turn *everything* upside down to have an effect. As Donald Rumsfeld himself pointed out in a June congressional committee hearing, "The blitzkrieg was an enormous success, but it was accomplished by only a 13-percent-transformed German army."

Too much of the U.S. public, the Gulf War was a supreme example of the power of superior technology. It was indeed the first war where, as one scholar puts it, "brilliant munitions arrived." But in certain ways Desert Storm was a throwback to the World Wars: Large masses of men and heavy munitions clashing on open ground, as the U.S. might have done in Europe against the Soviet Union. America's fighting forces are still organized and armed to fight hard, fierce battles from fixed bases against an enemy that no longer really exists.

America's heavy armaments—items such as the M-1 tank and the self-propelled howitzer—must either be pre-stationed at nearby bases or else be transported from afar to the theater of conflict—requiring long delays and a snaking supply line. The transport and logistics difficulties that plagued our Army in Kosovo are liable to increase as our likely combat scenarios grow more and more unconventional, especially if Asia becomes the source of threat.

Meanwhile our bases are not only becoming vulnerable to attack, as more nations gain advanced weapons, they also depend on political and diplomatic goodwill for which there is no guarantee. Note how political factors are forcing the Navy to abandon its training site at Vieques—within the U.S. protectorate of Puerto Rico. Note the pressure against U.S. bases on Okinawa, and in the Philippines.

Our current stock of superweapons suffers from three other failings as well. The first is age. Many U.S. pilots are now flying planes considerably older than they are. Older equipment costs more to maintain, and breaks down more often. Modernizing

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Our carriers plying foreign shores may be vulnerable to high-tech weapons like the Russian-built, China-bought "Sunburn" cruise missile.

weapons and equipment is hugely expensive: Midlife modernization of an aircraft carrier can cost $3 billion. Nor does modernization change fundamentals. Today's M-1 tank, for example, is not going to get any lighter, or freer to roam away from its fuel trucks. And today's aircraft carriers, for all their whiz-bang gadgetry, remain essentially the same platform as the Navy's first carrier, the *Langley*, commissioned in 1922. Our Air Force still relies on several dozen 1950s-era B-52 bombers; the next generation of heavy bombers is not slated to come along until 2037, when the B-52s will be nearly a century old. Imagine the U.S. trying to fight WWII with technology from the 1850s, on horseback and aboard wooden ships.

A related problem is vulnerability. In 1998, North Korea—a comparatively poor and backward nation—launched its Taepo Dong 1 missile, which flies faster than the ship-based missile interceptors now being tested by our navy. Advances in armor-piercing weaponry likewise present an increasing threat to U.S. tanks and armored-personnel carriers.

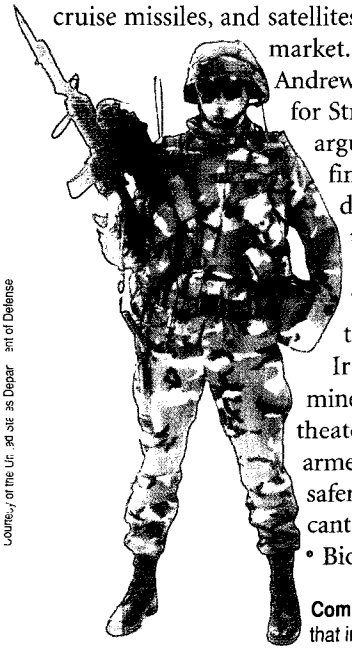
A third problem has to do with the limitations of nuclear weapons. Our nuclear deterrent is not very useful against the sort of devastating yet limited attack that modern precision weapons enable foes to inflict on us. And so we need more modulated ways of responding.

There are also some esoteric new threats the U.S. military will have to handle in the future. For example:

• Slipperier Terrorism. Although the number of terrorist attacks against the U.S. has recently declined, the number of casualties has increased. Terrorist groups today receive less state support and turn more often to private patrons such as Osama Bin Laden for resources. Private sponsors are less susceptible to sanctions, negotiated treaties, retaliation threats, and other forms of state-on-state pressure.

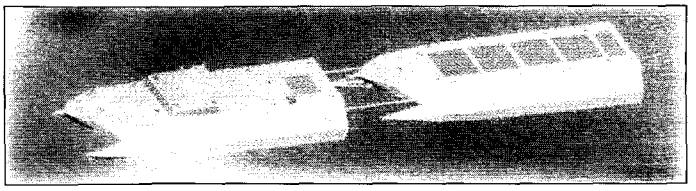
• Proliferation of potent weapons. More nations are gaining high-end weaponry and technology such as ballistic missiles, cruise missiles, and satellites—often buying them on the open market. And military reformers such as Andrew Krepinevich, who heads the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, argue that the Navy will increasingly find itself fighting not in favorable deep-ocean environments but close to shore, where ships are vulnerable to land-based missiles. He asks, "How would you move a carrier through the Strait of Hormuz when Iran could have lots of anti-ship mines, anti-ship cruise missiles?" In such theaters, sending Streetfighters or subs armed with Tomahawk missiles would be safer and faster, and could bring significant savings in operational costs.

• Biological warfare. Germ warfare will present a considerable challenge in the future, especially as the ability to manipulate the genetic code becomes more widespread. Ken Alibek, who headed the Soviet Union's Biopreparat program, finds even Britain's foot-and-mouth outbreak suspicious. "We cannot distinguish between naturally occurring epidemics and ones we create," he has said. "We need to take a very aggressive approach and start developing real protection against biological weapons."



Courtesy of the U.S. Department of Defense

Coming Soon to the Army A U.S. infantryman equipped with the Land Warrior electronic systems that improve his targeting and communications.



Artists conception courtesy of the War Gaming Department, Naval War College

The Sea Lance would be a small, fast, heavily armed catamaran capable of navigating close to shore. It could tow a weapons barge to increase its missile firepower. Swarms of these inexpensive vessels could do the work of vulnerable larger ships.

In late July, former chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Sam Nunn and Oklahoma governor Frank Keating gave a sobering presentation on the possible outcome of a smallpox attack against the U.S. The upshot: thousands dead and mass hysteria. Peter Jahrling, chief science advisor of the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases, believes there is "no higher biological threat to this nation than smallpox." And if terrorists wished to get their hands on smallpox, they might be able to do so comparatively easily, particularly from the notoriously porous former Soviet bio-weapons industry.

• Space hostilities. America's fighting forces have grown increasingly reliant on satellites for communication and surveillance (one-eighth of the satellites orbiting the planet belong to the Pentagon), and probably will grow more so. Until recently America and the Soviet Union were the only nations capable of significant space launch. Now commercial launches outnumber military launches, and an increasing number of countries are getting involved.

Three years ago, 42 retired top military officers sent a letter to President Clinton urging him to provide the means necessary for U.S. dominance in space. "We can think of few challenges likely to pose a greater danger to our future security than that of adversaries seeking to make hostile use of space—or to deny us the ability to dominate that theater of operations," they wrote. America's enemies could knock out our military and commercial satellites relatively easily, doing devastating damage to our communications system, our financial networks, and our economy in very short order.

• Computer warfare. Scientists at Los Alamos National Laboratory have made strides in the field of quantum computing, which uses individual atoms as switches. A tiny workable quantum computer using just a few thousand atoms would make today's most powerful supercomputers look like an abacus, opening up vast possibilities for code-breaking, weapons design, wargaming, threat assessment, and the sifting of tapped telecom information. Such technology is unlikely to be exclusive to the U.S.

And as the world becomes more and more dependent on computer networks, it's likely that logic bombs, viruses, worms, and other forms of electronic sabotage will become a growing

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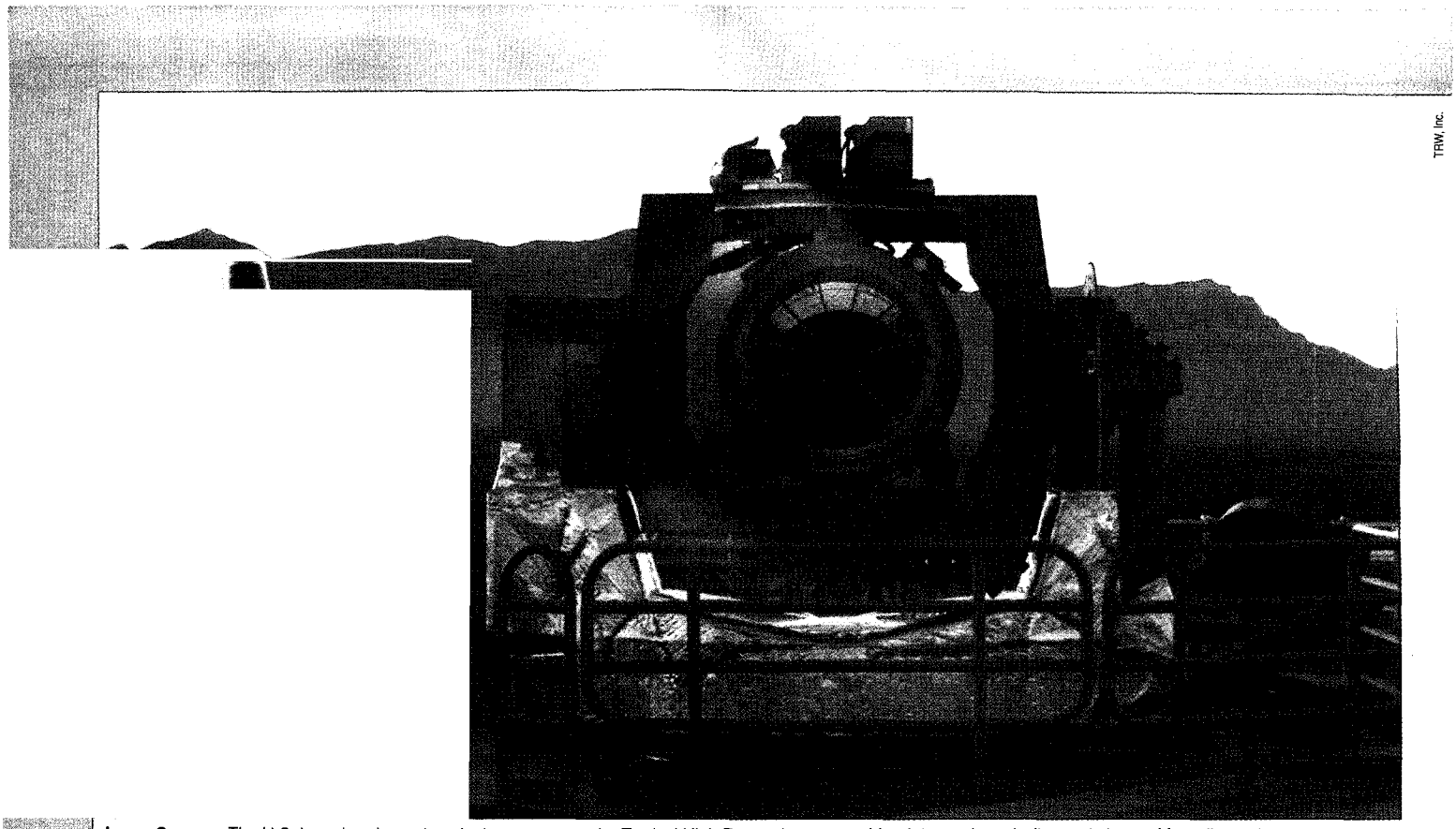

TRW, Inc.

Laser Cannon The U.S. has already produced a laser weapon, the Tactical High Energy Laser, capable of destroying missiles and planes. More directed-energy weapons will follow in the years to come.

threat. If a computer-school dropout could write a simple program—the "love bug" virus—that did more than $7 billion in damage worldwide in a couple of days, imagine what a serious electronic-warfare division could do.

• Electromagnetic warfare. One of the threats of which the American public is least aware is the possibility of an electromagnetic pulse caused by a high-altitude nuclear detonation. The atmospheric explosion of a nuclear warhead would cripple or impair the performance of electronics throughout a large portion of the country, and likewise cripple or impair the performance of a high-tech military. The possibility of this kind of electronic terrorism is a principal reason the Bush administration wants a national missile defense.

When Donald Rumsfeld arrived as the new Secretary of Defense this spring, he promised a sweeping transformation of the armed forces. He established several panels that worked largely in secret and without much input from the Pentagon brass. His subordinates have already proposed abandoning the strategy of fighting two major wars at the same time, dropping some weapons procurements, mothballing carriers, eliminating Army divisions, closing more bases, and moving away from Cold War strategies.

This approach has drawn fire from certain quarters. Some conservatives worry about cuts masquerading as reforms. "Don't be fooled by fancy, defense whiz-kid explanations," *Weekly Standard* editors wrote recently. Too much of the "defense reform" movement, they suggest, could just end up being defense shrinkage. Many liberals, on the other hand, view reform as just another way of "wasting resources" on the military. A recent *American Prospect* article depicted Andrew Marshall as a tool of the military-industrial complex.

Politicians at both the state and national level, meanwhile, worry about what large-scale changes might mean for their favored bases and associated jobs. Defense contractors fret over the potential loss of future sales. All parties stand ready to fight any reforms unfavorable to their own interests.

Resistance to change from outside the Defense Department is mirrored by nervousness within. Almost immediately upon Rumsfeld's arrival, the Pentagon brass got its back up. The new secretary was relying too much on think tank experts, they complained, and wasn't conferring sufficiently with senior officers. They complained about a lack of combat experience among many defense policy analysts.

Retired Admiral William Crowe, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, complained to *The New Yorker*: "First, the idea of precision-guided weapons—you're really talking about money. In the Gulf War, we almost ran through our entire stock of precision weapons. We took out targets that cost less than the weapon.... Also, in a really tough war you can't avoid head-on confrontation entirely. You just can't. My God, if you think you can support arms on the ground with air coming in from three thousand miles away—that's sheer nonsense."

There are military analysts, as well, who dispute the need for any radical change to U.S. fighting forces. Loren Thompson of the Lexington Institute, for instance, suggests the need for a so-called revolution in military affairs is all "speculation," predicated on "unprovable notions."

Yet even Thompson allows that "we have seen a major transformation in the tools of warfare every one or two generations. In World War I, we saw the introduction of the submarine, the tank, the aircraft, and the easily portable machine gun. In WWII, we saw the introduction of long-range missiles and atomic weapons. Normally it takes a generation after introduction for

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Our enemies could knock out U.S. satellites relatively easily, devasting our communications system, our financial networks, and our economy—not to mention our defense capabilities.

these revolutionary technologies to dominate war plans," but eventually they take over.

What's more, Thompson admits, "Every facet of technology is accelerating. New generations reach the marketplace at a faster and faster pace. The danger for the military is that potential adversaries will leap right by us using technologies from the commercial center." For a critic of Andrew Marshall, that sounds awfully Marshallite.

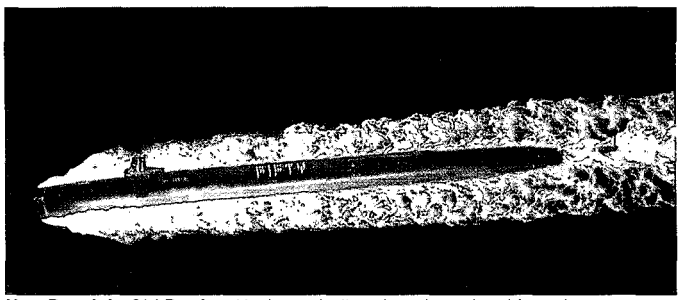
The Marshall-Rumsfeld plans that emerge this fall might founder on the shoals of institutional or political resistance, or be capsized by some crisis that diverts the administration's attention. But still our military will evolve, because it must. Sometime in the future, probably in our lifetimes, the aircraft carrier will seem almost as anachronistic as Hannibal's elephants look to us today.

Dramatic new possibilities in warfighting lie on the horizon. Surveillance, detection, and targeting will improve immensely. The U.S. military is currently developing, for instance, a foliage-penetrating radar that will be able to detect targets hidden below a canopy of trees, in day or night. It also is working on a Human Identification at a Distance project that will be able to positively I.D. people from afar, using, in the words of the project's former director, "different biometric techniques such as face and body parts identification, thermography, voice identification, kinematics, and remote iris scan."

Laser research is proceeding toward directed-energy weapons. The U.S. is already testing lasers that can destroy missiles and planes. Advances in ballistics could yield ultra-high-velocity rail-guns of great lethality. Other experimental projects include a self-healing minefield, in which anti-tank mines reposition themselves to close breaches; mobile robots that work in teams with human soldiers in urban warfare; micro-robots 5 centimeters high that can operate cooperatively; and underwater weapons that can walk themselves, lobster-like, up to targets.

Looking further ahead, the U.S. may have to cope with some frightening and formidable germ threats. New biotechnology could make smallpox look like a headcold. Some scientists suggest that brain chemicals such as serotonin could be genetically encoded and inserted into a virus, and the virus introduced into a population to soften its will.

Then there is nanotechnology—tiny machines and substances built almost at the molecular level. Such devices could be used to clean up contaminated soil, identify and destroy cancer cells, or make solar power, but they could also be used for destructive ends. Eric Drexler, the father of modern nanotechnology, posits what he calls the "gray goo" scenario, in which self-replicating nanobots race out of control and overwhelm the ecosystem: "'Plants'" with 'leaves' no more efficient than today's solar cells could out-compete real plants, crowding the biosphere with an inedible foliage. Tough omnivorous 'bacteria' could out-compete real bacteria. They could spread like blowing pollen, replicate swiftly and reduce the biosphere to dust in a matter of days." The scenario suggests ways in which nanobots could be used to destroy crops, make soldiers too sick to fight, or render the metal in weapons, ships, and trucks soft and "gooey."



Petty Officer 3rd Class Shawn Handley, U.S. Navy

New Punch In Old Bottles Nuclear-missile submarines slated for retirement could be retrofitted with conventional cruise missiles, taking over some of the overseas force delivery now done by carriers—in a stealthier, harder-to-attack, and less expensive way.

Finally, information—perhaps combined with some of the technologies outlined above—could one day make it possible to wage war against another nation without that nation's knowledge. Imagine, say, a country where software viruses are subtly slowing and disabling computers, secret nanobots are slightly increasing structural failure, a biological agent has lowered fertility half a percent, crops suffer repeated blights, micro-satellites interfere with the country's communications, and military hackers routinely disrupt the country's financial and medical-records systems. Over time, the target nation would degrade and fall further and further behind.

These are not immediate threats. But there are other new weapons which could appear much sooner. We know about the proliferation in the later 1990s of nuclear weapons and advanced missiles. In the wrong hands, one such weapon might vaporize the floating American city that is the *U.S.S. Truman*.

One need not buy into the most futuristic visions to see that the face of warfare is currently undergoing some radical shifts, and will continue to do so in the future. Those wishing to get a sense of just how decisive technology may be in years ahead might wish to consult Jared Diamond's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Guns, Germs, and Steel*. In addition to explaining why horses are suitable for domestication while zebras are not, how Africa became black, and how Pizarro's army of 168 defeated an Inca army of 80,000 within minutes, Diamond looks closely at the specific roles of advanced strategy, arms, armor, and transportation in determining national strength and safety. The reader leaves Diamond's book with a clear sense that cultural dominance belongs to those who climb the technological ladder more quickly than others. This applies even more to military forces than to other branches of civilization.

Individual soldiers and sailors have long been familiar with the imperative of moving "up or out." Increasingly, that same urgent demand applies to the leaders who must set the course for America's overall fighting force.

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By Michael Catanzaro

The "Revolution in Military Affairs" Has An Enemy: Politics

On June 28, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld sat meekly in his chair as Senator Pat Roberts of Kansas harangued him over Air Force plans to cut back the B-1 bomber force. Roberts represents McConnell Air Force base in Wichita, which hosts a B-1 bomb wing and 1,200 full- and part-time personnel. "I am discouraged, I am frustrated, and I am angry," Roberts said with a cold stare. Senator Max Cleland of Georgia was equally perturbed, saying the proposed retirement of the planes "stinks like a mackerel."

Such vitriol doesn't surprise military reformers. Efforts to reshape America's defense forces often run into the twin brick walls of ferocious district-goodies-protection carried out by members of Congress and highly bureaucratic inertia at the Pentagon. Even minor realignments to improve effectiveness and efficiency are often fiercely resisted. "The nation's elected representatives are obligated for domestic political reasons to think about people, bases, and the defense industry," noted Army Colonel Douglas Macgregor, a prominent reform advocate, in a recent paper.

In the face of widespread foot-dragging, Secretary Rumsfeld is trying to carry out the biggest transformation of the U.S. military since World War II. In February, he launched a major top-to-bottom assessment. He set up 12 panels of experts, many of them from outside the Defense Department, to explore reforms in force structure, weapons acquisition, future strategy, and other matters that go the heart of how our country will defend itself in coming decades.

The review, which George Bush promised during his Presidential campaign, is motivated by two looming realities: today's sharp technological shifts (which create both new U.S. capabilities and new enemy threats), and recent political changes (Russia's withering, combined with the rise of new and very different dangers from elsewhere). Rather suddenly, the strategies, forces, and weapons which won the Cold War are fading into obsolescence. Rumsfeld's job is to replace the old Pentagon worldview with a twenty-first-century vision of warfare. It's a historic, and enormously difficult, assignment.

In a speech at The Citadel in September 1999, then-Governor George Bush discussed what he called a "revolution in the technology of war." He noted that, "Power is increasingly defined

not by mass or size, but by mobility and swiftness. Influence is measured in information. Safety is gained in stealth. And force is projected on the long arc of precision-guided weapons." When Bush said his administration would reorganize American military forces according to these new rules, he implicitly endorsed shedding much of the military structure accumulated over the last half century. He pledged to give the secretary of defense "a broad mandate—to challenge the status quo and envision a new architecture of American defense for decades to come."

Bush chose the 68-year-old Rumsfeld to carry out that mandate. During the Ford administration, long before information-age technologies began reshaping the military, Rumsfeld had been the youngest secretary of defense in history. Before that, he had served as White House chief of staff. He had also been a staffer on Capitol Hill, and then a congressman. He gained international experience as U.S. ambassador to NATO. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger once described Rumsfeld as a "skilled politician-bureaucrat in whom ambition, ability, and substance fuse seamlessly."

With a long history of efforts to boost U.S. military strength, Rumsfeld always got along with the Pentagon brass, though he consistently challenged it. In 1976, he delayed a contract to build the new M-1 battle tank. He had discovered that the tank was equipped with a 105-millimeter gun, while British and German tanks had 120-millimeter guns. He worried about a weapons mismatch that might hamper the capability of Western powers fighting in Europe against the Soviets. Though he encountered fierce opposition from the Army, Congress, and military contractors, he never backed down—and ultimately prevailed.

After leaving government, Rumsfeld made millions as the successful CEO of G.D. Searle and then of General Instrument. He served on critical defense advisory commissions during the 1980s and '90s which kept him at the forefront of military debates on leading-edge topics. In 1998, he chaired the high-profile "Com-

Michael Catanzaro is a political reporter for Evans and Novak.

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Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld

mission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States," which highlighted the growing missile capabilities of rogue states like Iran, Iraq, and North Korea. The commission's final report was instrumental in reviving bipartisan interest in ballistic missile defenses. Last year, Rumsfeld chaired the U.S. space commission, which concluded that the U.S. global communications system is dangerously vulnerable to attack. "If the U.S. is to avoid a 'space Pearl Harbor,' it needs to take seriously the possibility of an attack," the commission warned.

Being clear-eyed about the growing importance of missile defenses and the militarization of space is one hallmark of the new generation of thinkers now pushing for a so-called "Revolution in Military Affairs." Dramatic turnovers in military thinking have occurred several times in the past—for instance when airplanes were adapted for war fighting. The dawning of today's revolution first became visible during the Gulf War, when U.S. forces used sophisticated weaponry and information systems to defeat Saddam Hussein's Republican Guard in breathtakingly one-sided fashion.

Admiral Bill Owens

Retired Admiral Bill Owens, who in 1999 published one of the reformist bibles—an iconoclastic and anti-establishment book called *Lifting the Fog of War*—notes that just as the stirrup changed warfare by enabling armed men to fight on horseback, and primitive reconnaissance airplanes and observation balloons opened a new era in World War I, today's new technologies will demolish antiquated methods of fighting, and bring victory to forces willing to exploit them.

Owens sees three major aspects to today's military revolution. First are space sensors which can give commanders decisive battlefield information. Second are vital new battlefield communications networks. Third are guidance technologies which give weapons uncanny new accuracy. Like many other revolutionaries, enthusiasts for the new military technologies often get the cold shoulder from the military establishment. Owens' career sputtered out after he advanced his ideas. Colonel Douglas Macgregor, who wrote the influential *Breaking the Phalanx*, which called for dramatic restructuring inside the Army, including elimination of the current division structure, likewise fell off the promotions fast-track after going public.

Andrew Marshall

Perhaps the most renowned theorist of a revolution in military affairs is Andrew Marshall. Director of the Pentagon's internal think tank known as the Office of Net Assessment, and the intellectual leader of Rumsfeld's review, Marshall has at times been treated as a pariah by the Pentagon establishment. He is a survivor, though, and at age 79, having worked on military strategy for a period longer than the entire Cold War, has become a cult figure around whom reformers rally. "Marshall is something of a revered figure among those who know him and worked for him," said Robert Worley, a Marshall protégé, and now a senior researcher at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, a defense think tank.

Marshall's career began in 1949 at the California-based RAND Corporation. For over 20 years, he, along with like-minded thinkers such as Albert Wohlstetter, Herman Kahn, and James Schlesinger (Nixon's defense secretary), used elaborate war-gaming, incorporating advanced new concepts in statistics and game theory, to test the best strategies for corralling the Soviet Union. According to Eliot Cohen, another Marshall acolyte, Marshall and a team of researchers pushed development of weapons systems that "would render obsolete large portions of the Soviet arsenal, or which would impose disproportionate costs" on Soviet military budgets.

Always on the cutting edge, Marshall suggested new methods of measuring military power. In a 1966 paper titled "Problems of Estimating Military Power," he questioned conventional measurements that were merely "tabulations of forces of various sorts: the number of men under arms, the number of weapons of a given type, etc." The fact that country A has more weapons than country B says very little about their respective potencies, he suggested. He

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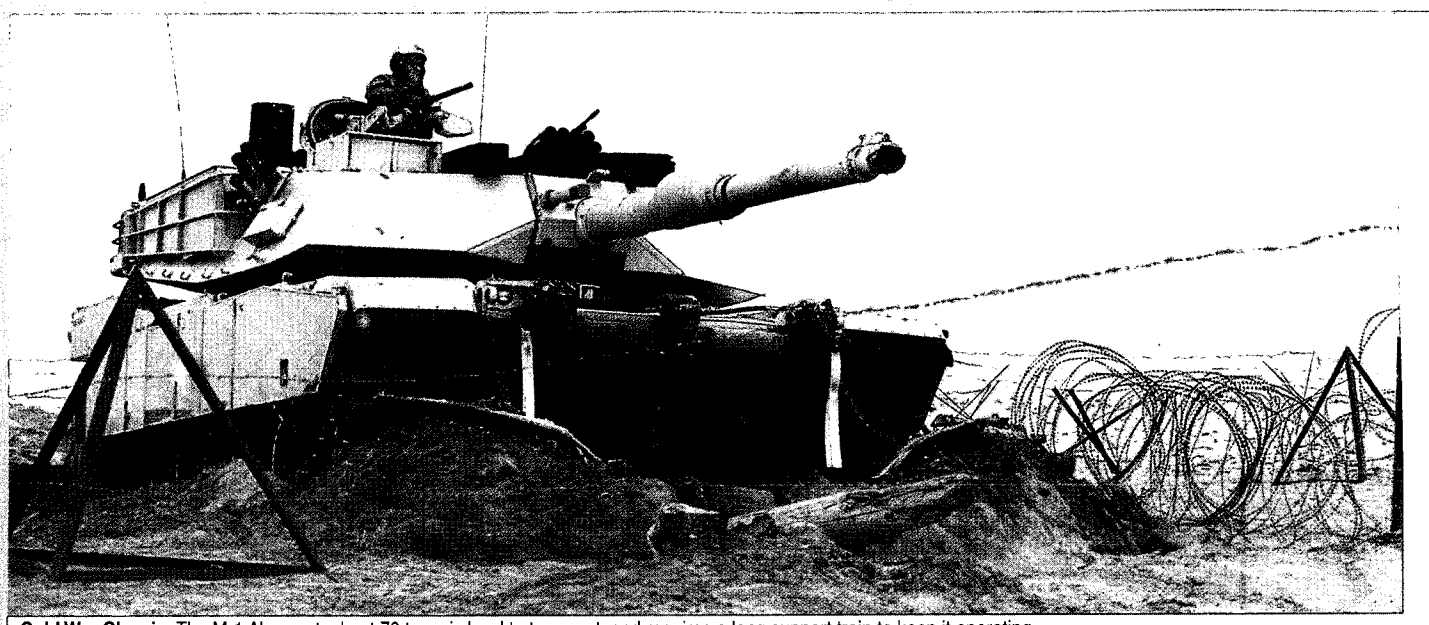

Cold War Classic The M-1 Abrams tank, at 70 tons, is hard to transport, and requires a long support train to keep it operating.

pressed military analysts to think about enemies dynamically, focusing on potential interactions between combatants, and to account for technology, politics, economics, and demography, as well as specific war-fighting doctrines, in assessing military affairs.

Marshall, like Rumsfeld, always speaks his mind. He recently questioned the usefulness of the F-22 fighter, the crown jewel of the Air Force's acquisition program. Such views frequently get him in trouble. During the Clinton administration, Defense Secretary William Cohen and others tried to ostracize Marshall and the Office of Net Assessment. Now, having caught Rumsfeld's ear, Marshall is a central figure in setting future Pentagon priorities.

One of the central premises of the review Marshall is leading is that Asia is more likely than Europe to be the center of future military conflicts. "Most of the U.S. military assets are in Europe where there are no foreseeable conflicts threatening vital U.S. interests," stated a 1999 Marshall study. "The threats are in Asia." Also, because of the disappearance of military peers of the U.S., the administration is shifting from a doctrine of being prepared to fight two conventional wars simultaneously to a "one-war-plus" strategy that would require handling just one war, while responding quickly and efficiently to regional conflicts.

Rumsfeld is pushing integration of the U.S. military branches to create better coordination in fighting wars. He also wants forces that are sleeker and faster moving. In particular, a more mobile Army, with precision-guided weaponry, lighter weapons, and air power, and organized for rapid deployments, is needed. David Gompert of RAND, who led the Rumsfeld review's joint operations panel, issued a bold recommendation in his June final report, calling for one joint Army-Navy-Air Force-Marine force for the East, another for the West, and U.S.-based contingency forces to provide backup. Air Force General James McCarthy, who headed the transformation panel, reached similar conclusions, advocating "Global Joint Response Forces" which would combine units from different military branches, with shared intelligence and reconnaissance capabilities.

Those ideas entail unsettling changes, especially for the Army, which is in dire need of reform. Resistance is sure to run deep.

Colonel Douglas Macgregor

"The Army today looks a lot like Ford and General Motors did in 1965," said one source close to the review. The current Army, says Colonel Macgregor, is arranged according to the "bigger is better" philosophy. The Army must be reorganized, he argues, according to a "dispersed mobile warfare" design. The traditional formations of "linear warfare"—armies, corps, divisions, and brigades—have become outmoded and ineffective. New designs must be modular, differently equipped, and interconnected with the other services. The Army's current organizational structure and concepts of combat were developed in another era, Macgregor writes, and need to be dramatically updated.

The Kosovo war provided examples of some of the problems that can arise when a modern conflict is fought using Cold War infrastructure. "I witnessed one problem after another," says Representative Mark Steven Kirk (R-IL), who served as a naval intelligence officer during the campaign. One poor fit was the Army's M-1 Abrams tank, designed for frontal battles with the Soviets on the plains of Germany. At 70 tons, the M-1 cannot be airlifted into small airfields. And had the U.S. commenced a ground offensive, the Abrams tanks would have collapsed ten of the 12 bridges between Albania's main port and the Kosovo border.

Former Army Chief of Staff Dennis Reimer argues that the Army's basic structures and doctrines need to be transformed to reduce logistical encumbrances. To accomplish that, the Army is experimenting with a lighter, more easily deployable machine called the "Interim Armored Vehicle," and new combat teams to operate it. One of the IAV's biggest champions is Army Chief of Staff Eric Shinseki, and many expect it be an important part of Rumsfeld's reforms.

One of the more antiquated corners of the Army may be the National Guard. According to one Capitol Hill source, Army Secretary Thomas White, regarded as a sensible reformer, believes the Guard has become obsolete. "A basic question is being asked," said another source familiar with the review: "Why do we even need a National Guard?" Michèle Flournoy, a defense

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Because of changing technology, new enemies, budget shifts, and manpower shortages, the U.S. military cannot duck some dramatic changes in the way it fights.

analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, who worked on the last Quadrennial Defense Review in 1997, sees the National Guard as eventually maintaining homeland defenses and responding to a catastrophic terrorist event. But, she adds pessimistically, "Congress won't like those changes."

The Air Force has been undergoing profound changes in recent years. The high priority the Bush administration places on missile defense implies greater responsibility for the Air Force. Space is becoming an extremely important military venue, and many expect the current review to propose new offensive and defensive weapons for earth orbit. "The Air Force must be capable of protecting our assets in space, and quite simply that means arming space," says Michael Swetnam, president of the Potomac Institute. President Bush's late August decision to appoint reformist General Richard Myers (former head of the U.S. Space Command) as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was an indicator that the administration is serious about instituting bold military reforms in general, and about defending space in particular.

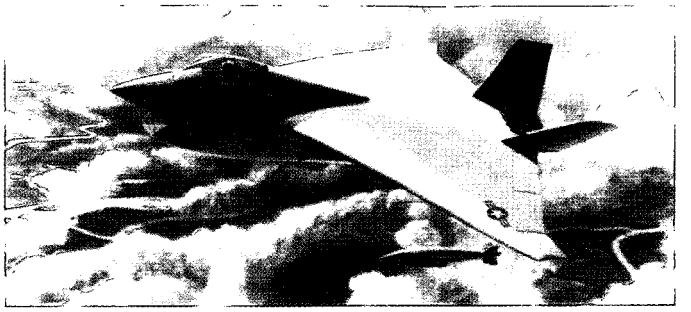
The Air Force's traditional weapons—planes—will be transformed. The Unmanned Combat Air Vehicle (UCAV), in which a pilot directs the plane from the ground, represents the wave of the future. Glimpses of that technology were on display in Kosovo in 1999, when robotic reconnaissance planes gathered intelligence from above. Given the 30-year life span of fighter aircraft, many see the F-22 and Joint Strike Fighter, two planes now in development, becoming prematurely obsolete.

Yet the political constituency for the two planes is formidable. Congressmen Randy "Duke" Cunningham of California and Saxby Chambliss of Georgia, two powerful defense hawks, are lobbying heavily for the planes. Currently, the Air Force is planning to spend $69 billion over the next decade to purchase 339 F-22 Raptors alone.

In the Navy, Rumsfeld is battling what Congressman Kirk calls the "battleship mafia," the forces that want naval strategy to continue to be based around a small number of super-ships, specifically aircraft carriers. On the other side, Andrew Marshall and others argue strongly that aircraft carriers and other huge conventional ships, which require vast and elaborate defensive trains to stay secure, shouldn't be the centerpiece of naval power anymore. They prescribe new sorts of vessels like the "Streetfighter."

Streetfighters, whose most vocal champion is Vice Admiral Arthur Cebrowski, are small, fast, heavily armed but very lightly manned ships that can dart to congested flashpoints like the Middle East and the South China Sea. Marshall and some other naval observers believe our 1970s-era Nimitz-class super-carriers (which reformers derisively call "floating airports") are now too vulnerable to cruise missile attack. They place far too many eggs in one basket. Streetfighter fleets would provide much more agility, would divide our naval firepower among a much greater number of separate platforms, would be more flexible to deploy, and would siphon off far fewer resources to defend themselves from attack.

Reforms awaiting the Marines will be less dramatic, because the Marines are already mostly organized along the lines thought most necessary for contemporary warfare. They are highly mobile, ready to fight across the whole spectrum of war, and trained to cope with a wide range of threats. The Marines have also long enjoyed our most unorthodox military leadership, and have remained remarkably non-sclerotic.



F-22 Raptor Is it obsolescent before it's built?

The Marines are already revamping their structure to become more of a light strike force. Major General Robert Magnus, leading the Marine panel in the current defense review, incorporates much of the work conducted by the Marine Corps War Fighting Laboratory, which is staffed with officers and researchers who share much of Andrew Marshall's philosophy. They are examining "leap-ahead technology," including new weapons with electromagnetic pulses, high-power microwaves, and laser weapons that can incapacitate, stun, or immobilize an enemy.

Bureaucratic examinations of the sort now underway in the Bush Defense Department rarely produce immediate change, according to Admiral Bill Owens. "These types of major reviews are rarely successful, and when they are, they only bring about changes at the margins," he warns. Yet this effort is the first significant military reform attempt in decades, and is sure to have effects. Because of changing technology alone, the U.S. military cannot duck some dramatic changes in the way it fights.

Skeptics cite a number of reasons for doubting that Rumsfeld will achieve much. For one thing, there is the preoccupation with missile defense. "National missile defense will take years to develop," says one source. "It is basically an R & D program that will suck a lot of money away from other key reforms."

More generally, tight budgets constrain Rumsfeld's options. Earlier this year, he asked the White House Office of Management and Budget for $35 billion in additional funding for Fiscal Year 2002. He got $18 billion. Rumsfeld is energetically searching for savings, and with personnel by far the biggest military expense, the most likely source will come from cutting troops. Many expect that two divisions could eventually be trimmed from the Army. An aircraft carrier or two, and accompanying battle group, could be retired.

These and other changes will inspire howls in the Pentagon, on Capitol Hill, and among defense contractors. "What usually happens is that first you get shock, and then anger," notes Michael Swetnam. "Then you get a certain level of denial. But slowly you see people getting used to the changes. I think that is what's happening here."

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By Max Boot

Envisioning a future of casualty-free pushbutton wars?

Get Over It

Robert McNamara had his whiz kids. Donald Rumsfeld has his whiz geezer—Andy Marshall.

Upon taking office, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld pledged to undertake a bold reorientation of our armed forces to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century. And he turned over a key part of the job to Marshall, the almost octogenarian policy planner who has been one of the biggest boosters of the so-called Revolution in Military Affairs. Marshall and other reformers want the armed forces to take even greater advantage of America's technological prowess—specifically our mastery of the microchip—by developing weapons systems capable of hitting targets with pinpoint accuracy from great distances at little risk to American lives.

All well and good. Any country that enjoys a technological advantage over its potential foes would be negligent if it did not attempt to exploit its edge to the fullest. In the late nineteenth century, for instance, the development of the machine gun was one of the factors that made it relatively easy for small numbers of European soldiers to colonize much of the world.

But there is a great danger of placing too much faith in technology which tends, inevitably, ineluctably, to be disseminated to one's enemies. Machine guns did not win World War I for either side. And eventually they were employed by anti-colonial forces to help drive out their European masters. Despite the fevered dreams of air power advocates like Giulio Douhet and Billy Mitchell in the inter-war period, air ships were important, but not decisive, in World War II. And using air power to inflict punishment on enemies was hardly painless. American and British flying crews suffered fearsome losses over occupied Europe, as did German crews over Britain and Russia, and Japanese crews over the Pacific and China.

The most potent weapon of all, the atomic bomb, gave the U.S. a fleeting strategic advantage that was quickly negated, in 1949, by Russia's acquisition of its own nukes. Nuclear weapons proved important in keeping the peace between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, but did little if anything to determine the outcome of any war fought since 1945—not the Korean or Vietnam Wars, not the Six Day or Yom Kippur Wars, not the Afghanistan or Chechnya Wars, and not the civil wars, too numerous to list, that have been the dominant form of conflict for decades.

Have we finally advanced to the point where the dreams of the technological utopians will be realized at last? Will warfare now become a relatively bloodless affair directed by a handful of nerds safely ensconced in offices thousands of miles from the scene of the battle? Will America be able to punish its enemies at no risk to itself? Perhaps. But, more likely, America's very reliance on high technology will encourage foes to fight in such a way that prevents us from bringing our weapons system to bear in the first place, much as the Vietcong did.

Any foe, assessing America's strengths and weaknesses, would quickly zero in on our greatest vulnerability: our aversion to casualties. Kill a few of them, and the Yankees go home. Accurate or not, this impression has spread widely throughout the world. The somewhat hysterical official reaction to the bombing of the *USS Cole* in Yemen last year can only reinforce this notion. After 17 sailors were killed and 39 injured in this terrorist attack, numerous critics chastised the Navy for having the temerity to send a ship to a dangerous port. "I intend to go in harm's way," said John Paul Jones. Apparently our modern Navy—and Army and Air Force and Marines—are supposed to stay *out* of harm's way, which raises the question of why we have men and women under arms in the first place.

This "bodybag syndrome"—rather than any technological shortcoming—is the biggest challenge that Rumsfeld, and his boss, George W. Bush, confront, if they want to increase the potency of our armed forces.

Today's no-casualties attitude sprouted during two conflicts of the early 1990s: the Gulf War and Somalia.

The Gulf War seemingly showed that U.S. armed forces could win without suffering many casualties—only 293 combat deaths, not the tens of thousands anticipated by gloomy pundits. Yet all the ticker-tape parades, all the self-congratulatory oratory, all the kudos heaped on "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf and Colin Powell, could do little to disguise the fact that the Gulf War was a short-run success but a long-term failure. President Bush ended the ground war after just 100 hours, allowing at least half the Iraqi Republican Guard to escape destruction and Saddam Hussein to hold onto power. A decade later, the Iraqi dictator is still

Max Boot, editorial features editor for the Wall Street Journal, *is completing a history of America's small wars, to be published next spring by Basic Books.*

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Gulf War tank crew member reacts after being handed the dog tags of a fellow tanker, in body bag at right.

developing weapons of mass destruction, still thumbing his nose at America, still destabilizing the region.

Why didn't U.S. armed forces go all the way to Baghdad in 1991, as some had urged they should? There was a plethora of explanations—that it would generate negative publicity of U.S. forces slaughtering fleeing Iraqis (e.g., the "Highway of Death"), it was not part of the U.N. mandate, it would fracture the allied coalition, that it would lead to the dismemberment of Iraq, that it would not result in a "desert democracy where people read *The Federalist Papers* along with the Koran" (in Powell's sarcastic words)—but there is little doubt that fear of casualties was a significant factor. The generals, Colin Powell foremost among them, breathed a sigh of relief that they had gotten off so lightly, and were determined to call off the war before anything went wrong—even at the risk of leaving Saddam Hussein in power.

Yet in the popular imagination the Gulf War has come to stand for the proposition that casualties are not required to triumph in modern warfare—at least not in significant numbers. Somalia is the other side of the coin. It has come to symbolize the American people's alleged unwillingness to suffer any losses in a military mission.

The most popular book written about the U.S. military in the 1990s—Mark Bowden's gripping *Black Hawk Down*—concerns the debacle in Mogadishu on October 3, 1993. The Battle of Mogadishu can be summarized easily enough: U.S. forces went hunting for warlord Mohammed Farah Aideed and instead became the hunted. After two MH-60 Black Hawk helicopters were downed by rocket-propelled grenades, a joint task force of Army Rangers and the elite Delta Force was besieged by thousands of Somalis firing rocket-propelled grenades and AK-47 assault rifles. The Special Forces troopers remained trapped until the next morning, when the U.S. Tenth Mountain Division was able to organize a relief expedition by borrowing tanks and armored personnel carriers from the Pakistani and Malaysian United Nations contingents. Eighteen Americans were killed, 82 injured, one captured, making this the costliest single day of combat for the U.S. Army since Vietnam.

Americans were horrified to watch, in the days that followed, television footage of American corpses dragged through the streets by jubilant Somalis. President Clinton, embarrassed by this debacle so early in his administration, quickly announced that the U.S. was pulling out of Somalia within six months.

Just eight days later, the costs of this skittishness became apparent when the *USS Harlan County*, loaded with Special Forces and Canadian soldiers, approached the piers of Port au Prince, Haiti—and was turned away by a small mob threatening "another Somalia." This shows what happens when a superpower cuts and runs: Its next mission becomes much harder to accomplish.

President Clinton subsequently decided to occupy Haiti in order to restore deposed President Jean Bertrand Aristide, but this invasion was governed above all by the imperative not to suffer any casualties. The commanders of the Tenth Mountain Division, as author Bob Shacochis found, "weren't letting any of their boys outside the gates…unless they traveled in a reinforced platoon—about 40 guys, with mortars and armored vehicles—and were accompanied by either a battalion commander or an executive officer." In Shacochis' paradoxical, but accurate, formulation, "U.S. soldiers had invaded Haiti for the primary purpose of protecting themselves." In his excellent book *The Immaculate Invasion*, Shacochis recounts how frustrated Green Berets were forbidden from disarming paramilitaries and taking other steps to establish the rule of law, for fear someone could be hurt.

Not surprisingly, a mission designed above all to minimize casualties accomplished little else. Aristide was restored to power, but it was a hollow victory. The U.S. left behind a cesspool of armed corruption, incompetence, and violence—and a president

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Beirut suicide bomber murdered 241 Marines in their barracks, leading to an American withdrawal.

Somalis killed Sergeant James Joyce, being buried here in Arlington National Cemetery, plus 17 other American peacekeepers in 1993. President Clinton quickly announced a pull-out.

who turned out to be no democrat. The situation in Haiti deteriorated further in the years that followed.

America's next military mission was in Bosnia. The Pentagon was deeply reluctant to get involved, largely because of casualty neurosis. "No American President could defend to the American people the heavy sacrifice of lives it would cost to resolve this baffling conflict," General Powell wrote of Bosnia in 1995, just after his retirement. In the event, it did not take a "heavy sacrifice of lives" to bring this conflict to a close. It took remarkably few sorties by NATO, principally with U.S. warplanes—combined with a Croatian ground offensive—for the Serbs to agree to a peace treaty that, for all its faults, ended the slaughter in Bosnia. Yet even after this unexpected victory, the Pentagon remained paralyzed by fear of casualties. As a result, U.S. peacekeeping troops sent to Bosnia under the Dayton Peace Agreement were hampered by overly restrictive rules of engagement.

"When I received my written mission from Division," recalls a battalion commander from the First Armored Division, "absolutely minimizing casualties was prioritized as first." One Army major recalled being told by his brigade commander in Bosnia that "If a mission and 'force protection' are in conflict, then we don't do the mission." Not surprisingly, the U.S. military was reluctant to arrest Bosnian war criminals, making it much harder to forge a lasting peace—and, ironically, making it less likely that the U.S. troops could be brought home soon.

Of course, the easiest way to minimize casualties is not to send any troops at all. Hence, cruise missiles have become America's preferred instrument of waging war. In 1998, President Clinton launched these unmanned weapons against Sudan and Afghanistan in retaliation for the bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa. These strikes achieved little beyond flattening a Sudanese pharmaceutical plant and turning Osama bin Laden into a world-wide celebrity.

This trend toward pushbutton war reached its apotheosis in Kosovo. When the order to begin bombing was given on March 23, 1999, General Wesley Clark, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, told his subordinates that the top priority was "not to lose aircraft." Blocking Yugoslavian military and police activities on the ground was a secondary concern, he wrote in his recently published memoir. While NATO pilots were flying safely out of anti-aircraft range, the Kosovars they were supposed to be protecting were at the mercy of Serb ethnic-cleansing squads. It is a curious morality that puts greater value on the life of a single pilot—a professional fighter who has volunteered for combat—than on hundreds, even thousands, of civilian lives. This has led some to suggest that the safest people in modern battle may be those who wear an American uniform.

Whatever its morality, this strategy was not particularly effective. Seeing that high-altitude bombing was having little effect on the dug-in Yugoslav armed forces, and knowing that ground troops were out of the question, General Clark requested the dispatch of tank-busting AH-64 Apache helicopters. The senior Pentagon brass disapproved; they feared stepping into a Vietnam-like quagmire. To dissuade the White House, they made outlandish claims that the chopper unit would suffer 50 percent casualties within a few days of battle. (Clark later wrote that this estimate "was just a way of saying, 'Don't do the mission.'")

When the helicopters were finally dispatched, the generals insisted that 6,200 troops and 26,000 tons of equipment, including 14 heavy M-1 Abrams tanks, be sent along to safeguard their base in Albania. The pilots were eager to fly, judging the risks acceptable, but the Pentagon dragged its feet so long that the Apaches never went into combat. Slobodan Milosevic decided to pull out of Kosovo after the KLA guerrillas launched a ground offensive—forcing Yugoslav units out into the open where they could be hit by NATO air power—and Western leaders threatened a major ground war.

In the aftermath of the bombing campaign, a multinational peacekeeping force was sent to Kosovo, including a U.S. contingent. As in Bosnia, the U.S. Army's risk-averse mentality impeded attempts to establish a durable peace. American troopers seldom ventured outside their fortified compound, Camp Bondsteel, without wearing their forbidding body armor, Kevlar helmets, the works. This impeded their ability to interact with local civilians, gather intelligence, and spread goodwill—prerequisites for a successful occupation. British soldiers, by contrast, looked more confident and approachable in their berets and rolled-up sleeves. And, though dressed for battle, U.S. forces shied away from any confrontation.

The impulse not to sacrifice indiscriminately the lives of American servicemen and women is a noble and valuable one; it is certainly preferable to the callous attitude of the Russian military toward its rank and file, whether in Chechnya or aboard the *Kursk* submarine that sank last year. But sometimes this policy can backfire in the most cruel way: If foreign enemies know that killing a few Americans will drive the U.S. out of their country,

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Any foe, assessing America's strengths and weaknesses, would quickly zero in on our greatest vulnerability: our aversion to casualties.

they are far more likely to target American soldiers. And every time U.S. forces flee a country after suffering casualties, it makes it less likely that the U.S. will be able to accomplish its objectives in the future *without* using force.

Those whose lives are on the line do not ask for a no-casualties policy. In one survey of 12,500 service members conducted by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 86 percent agreed with this statement: "If necessary to accomplish a combat/lifesaving mission, I am prepared to put my own life on the line." The CSIS study also found that "excessive aversion to casualties has...led to some confusion in the military, where self-sacrifice and the willingness to accept casualties in military operations has always been a key part of the ethos."

Political and military leaders justify today's preference for sanitized, high-tech warfare by arguing that the American people simply will not tolerate casualties any more, at least not in a "small war"; that as soon as the bodybags start coming home support for a mission will evaporate. This is said to be a fact of life in the television age. Military analyst Edward Luttwak has even mounted an elaborate justification for the "bodybag syndrome." He claims that families are more reluctant to lose sons than they once were, because they have fewer children today.

Three examples, Vietnam, Beirut, and Somalia, are generally trotted out as evidence of such skittishness.

But support for the Vietnam War did not decline until after 1968—when we'd completed three years of intense combat with little to show for it. Even as late as 1968, roughly as many Americans favored escalation (37 percent) as withdrawal (39 percent). Even after public sentiment shifted in favor of withdrawal, the course favored by the public was a gradual, not abrupt, pullout.

Support for the peacekeeping mission in Beirut was never high to begin with, even before the blast that killed 241 Marines on October 23, 1983. If anything, this calamity caused a temporary *spike* in support; many enraged Americans wanted revenge. Before long, public sentiment returned more or less to where it had been before the suicide-truck bombing.

Support for the relief mission to Somalia was so high in its early days that the public barely noticed eight fatalities suffered by U.S. forces. Popular enthusiasm had waned, however, well before 18 Rangers were killed on October 3, 1993. Even after this tragedy, the public did not demand immediate withdrawal—the option chosen by the Clinton administration. "Had the administration chosen instead to galvanize public opposition to Somali warlord Mohammed Farah Aideed," two political scientists wrote in the *Washington Post*, "our research suggests that Americans would have tolerated an expanded effort to catch and punish him."

These cases suggest that casualties are hardly the dominant factor shaping public attitudes toward military expeditions. Social scientists and pollsters find that other considerations—such as the odds of success and the stakes involved—count much more. This helps to explain why the American public favored a pullout from Somalia but not from Saudi Arabia, where 19 airmen were killed in the 1996 Khobar Tower bombing. The U.S. stake in Saudi Arabia was obviously much greater. It also helps to explain why Americans are not perturbed by deaths suffered in training exercises (which since Vietnam have killed more U.S. soldiers than all battlefield action): They understand that this is the price of preparedness.

A Triangle Institute for Security Studies report on attitudes toward peacekeeping missions found that average Americans give "substantially higher estimates of acceptable casualties than do civilian or military elites." In fact, suffering casualties can actually increase American public support for a military operation, so as to ensure that their soldiers did not die "in vain." Thus when leaders choose not to enter a war or choose to fight with the most antiseptic means possible, they should not cite public opinion as an alibi for their (in)actions.

This is not to suggest that the American people are insensitive to casualties. They are not, nor should they be. Few foreign policy objectives are worth buckets of blood; ends and means must be in balance. Small wars, by definition, have relatively small rewards, and they must be conducted accordingly. But even the best-run operations will suffer some losses. In the Banana Wars of the 1910s and 1920s, the Marines lost a total of 79 men in combat. Would things be different today, now that television cameras are available to beam to the public back home every detail of their troops' involvement overseas? Perhaps. But it is interesting to note that the British Army, representing a society every bit as media-saturated as the United States, has shown far less sensitivity to casualties in its small wars, as in Sierra Leone or Kosovo, than its overly cautious cousins across the Atlantic do.

It is hard to say exactly who is responsible for today's no-casualties mindset, demanded neither by ordinary civilians nor by ordinary soldiers. Political leaders blame the generals and admirals, claiming they are still psychologically traumatized by the scars of Vietnam. The generals and admirals blame political leaders, claiming that men and women in uniform are unwilling to take risks knowing that if something goes wrong they will be left by their political masters to twist in the wind. Whatever its origins, the bodybag syndrome represents a powerful hindrance to the effectiveness of U.S. armed forces.

Even before American forces go into battle, this mindset distorts military planning. There is, for instance, deep resistance in the Navy to developing the Streetfighter, a small ship that could be of great use in coastal engagements, because of concern that Americans would not tolerate the loss of a few of these vessels, each carrying a dozen sailors.

Unfortunately there is only one way to purge such extreme casualty-avoidance attitudes: to enter a war, suffer some casualties, and not flinch. In particular, our Commanders in Chief must show they will not be paralyzed by occasional military setbacks. This is a challenge that President Bush has not faced. He has not yet been blooded. Odds are he will be, and soon. How he reacts may say more about the future of the U.S. armed forces than anything else he or Defense Secretary Rumsfeld do in office.

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Shaking Up the Pentagon

How Much Change Is Wise?

Recently, four of America's leading military thinkers talked with TAE *about the desirability—and likelihood—of various bold changes in the way the Pentagon does business. The participants:*

Richard Perle American Enterprise Institute; Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Reagan administration.

Douglas Macgregor Colonel, U.S. Army; author of *Breaking the Phalanx: A New Design for Landpower in the 21st Century.*

Michael Vickers Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments; retired special forces officer.

James Webb Secretary of the Navy in the Reagan administration; author of *Lost Soldiers* and other novels.

The big idea behind the military reform movement is that twenty-first-century combat will be very different from what we've known previously, and that bold changes are therefore required in the makeup of our forces, our fighting techniques, and our weapons. Do you agree with this?

Perle: I think the changes have to be massive. The Cold War, during which we defined the threat as a huge Soviet invasion from Central Europe, led us to optimize our defense to repulse that possible attack. It had a nuclear dimension as well. But in terms of conventional forces, we organized and equipped ourselves to deal with heavy, mechanized artillery and armor. So we have a force that is equipped for a contingency that is now extremely unlikely. And we lack the mobility and flexibility needed in a world where you can't possibly know when and where it may be necessary to use military power next.

Vickers: The type of challenges we'll face in the twenty-first century are likely quite different. The biggest risks we face over the next decade are things like missile attacks, or cyber attacks on our information networks. The kinds of forces we used in Desert Storm might not be the best for dealing with those kinds of threats. But we don't necessarily have to transform a large portion of our force to be able to deal with that—maybe only 10 percent.

Does our military need to put less emphasis on Europe and become more prepared for wars in Asia?

Macgregor: What I see now are a lot of Cold War thinkers trying to find something in the future that resembles what they saw during the Cold War. This produces the scenarios where China or some other nation becomes the new Soviet Union.

Perle: It's less a matter of reorienting toward Asia than reorienting toward the world as a whole, as distinct from one small area along the West German-East German border. The Fulda Gap was the center of the military universe for the United States, and it no longer is. Indeed, there is no longer a center.

Webb: American physical presence around the world, even absent a conflict, is extremely important. I've spent a lot of time in Asia, and the receding of U.S. power from that region over the past ten years is the number one imperative driving people to accommodate Chinese expansion. When people see the U.S. military leaving an area, they immediately assume our commitment is waning, and our interests—economic and otherwise—become vulnerable. It's just a fact of life.

Can you give us some specific examples of new weapons, force structures, or doctrines that the U.S. military needs to pursue in order to get ready to meet future engagements more effectively?

Macgregor: First of all you've got to reexamine your strategy. The first thing that shapes force design is strategy, not technology. All of a sudden, there is no significant threat today that any one state or coalition of states can endanger our survival. We are essentially in the position Rome was in after the destruction of Carthage. That does not mean there will be no more wars. The Romans fought many more wars—small ones against many different kinds of adversaries.

Perle: We've fallen into a pattern of regarding force as a last resort. There's a lot of evidence that the reluctance to use force early, when it's relatively easy, has on several occasions—in the Balkans, most notably—meant that when we ultimately did use force, it was far more difficult and far more costly.

It would be useful to be able to move very quickly with overwhelming firepower, and I believe that requires longer-range aviation and the ability to hit targets with precision over long distances. Most of our aviation capability is relatively short-range. We need to acquire weapons that hit the target most of

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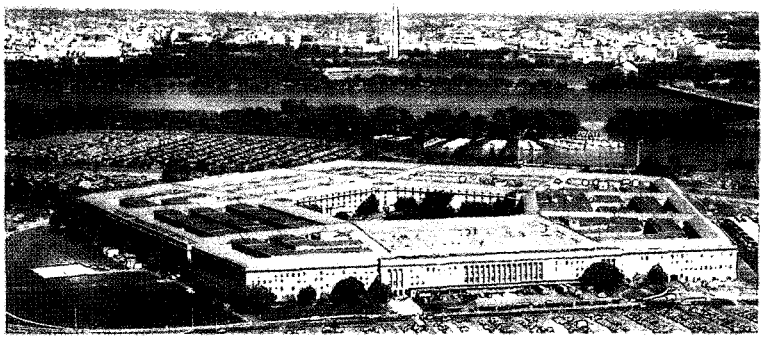

We need to cut military personnel by 20 percent over the next two years and put the savings into a reform program. —*Richard Perle*

the time, ideally from beyond the lethal range of the enemy. That strongly suggests a smaller army, but one much better equipped, with only very high quality precision weapons. You want a small but very lethal force.

The B-2 bomber is an ideal platform for hitting hard from a distance, but we have only a handful of them.

Vickers: The B-2 bomber is especially attractive given its great range, its stealth, and its payload.

Webb: The great strength of democracies has been their ability to keep the technological edge against totalitarian nations, which have been more manpower-intensive. Any time we maintain the technological edge, I'm for that. Particularly, I'm a strong supporter of missile defense.

But if you're operating in an environment where the defense budget is relatively fixed, more technology often means the tradeoff of less manpower. If you compare the United States defense budget to nearly any other defense budget in the world, particularly with larger potential adversaries like China, you'll see that manpower eats up an inordinate amount of the U.S. budget, because we pay people in our volunteer system a lot in money, retirement pay, and medical care. If you take a person out of the defense budget, you free up significant funds that can be used for technology. But you have to keep that in balance.

When I first joined the military in the 1960s, there were 3 million people on active duty. When I was in the Pentagon during the Reagan administration, we had more than 2 million. Now we're down to 1.4 million, and people are talking about cutting yet more. How far do you take this down and still have the capacity to react? You have to be really careful during interwar periods not to diminish the capabilities of your forces to sustain themselves on a battlefield. You can't do everything with a B-2 and a satellite up in the air.

Can you give us some specific examples of existing weapons, force structures, or doctrines that the U.S. military needs to *abandon*?

Macgregor: All the thinking today is still Cold War-oriented. You could cancel 50 or 60 percent of today's weapons-modernization programs at no risk. Let's put it this way: Right now, instead of opting for fuel injection, or design of a new automobile, we're simply building better carburetors.

Another issue: While the numbers of people in uniform who actually fight has shrunk dramatically in recent years, there is still tremendous overhead in senior officers, headquarters, and bloated bureaucracies. Going after that overhead would save many billions of dollars. George Marshall, when he became chief of staff in 1939, had to retire hundreds of full colonels and several dozen generals before he could change the structure of the Army.

Perle: The real money is in manpower. It's roughly $60,000 per person per year, so for just 1,000 troops, you're talking $60 million. One of our serious problems is the way we look at military manpower. It is seen almost as a free good, and not effectively included in plans and budgets.

Vickers: Military readiness is a function more of how forces are structured than of their size. What's important is to develop new warfighting concepts. A number of people believe, for example, that we can cut back to eight Army divisions, from ten today, and not affect our ability to operate overseas at all.

Webb: The military has been dramatically reduced over the last ten years. If you go too much below this you're jeopardizing our ability to protect the national interest.

Something that might be worth considering is a return to more of a citizen-soldier military. Even prior to 1971, when we shifted fully to a volunteer system, two thirds of the people in the armed forces were volunteers. But the first three enlisted ranks and the first two officer ranks contained very low-paid draftees.

In the all-volunteer, career-military force, pay increased significantly. Recruiters draw heavily on married people—which increases the need for housing, medical care, schools. Shorter enlistments by a wider range of idealistic young people (they are out there), lasting just a year and a half or two years, for not very much money but covering college expenses, might expand our recruiting base and improve our forces, while dramatically reducing manpower costs.

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Could you do a little daydreaming, and spin us some scenarios for future conflicts involving the U.S. in world hotspots, explaining how battles might proceed with our existing forces versus how they might proceed if we had some of the new tools the military reformers are calling for?

Perle: We have a significant and continuing problem with Saddam Hussein, and potentially with other nations in the Persian Gulf—an area of strategic importance to the United States. You could have a coup tomorrow in Egypt or Syria. There may not be local bases from which we could operate as we were able to do in the Gulf War. We may or may not be in agreement with our European allies; I think it would be best not to assume agreement with them. So in that situation, we would need to be able to deliver very substantial firepower, very quickly, all the way from the United States.

Vickers: China-Taiwan conflict is probably our most serious risk this decade, with the second maybe being Iran and the Gulf. The Chinese, and the Iranians to a lesser extent, are developing capabilities to target our surface ships—aircraft carriers, in particular.

To make it harder for them to hurt us I'd like to see more U.S. ability to deliver missile strikes from subsurface ships. Or more stealthy aircraft with extended range. The Chinese and the Iranians both put some of their critical capabilities deep within their nation's interior. If you can put those at risk, you force those nations to invest more in defense than in offensive capabilities they can menace their neighbors with.

Macgregor: We must be sure we have the ability to punish our adversaries not just with strikes from the air. Potential adversaries need to understand that if they attack U.S. armed forces or the American people, they can be certain American joint forces that include ground as well as air and naval elements will arrive in their country very quickly and remove their leaders. I think that's probably the single most important deterrent you can create today.

Is some of the thinking and rhetoric of today's military reformers perhaps alarmist?

Macgregor: Thanks to computers, most of our adversaries are inevitably going to have access to most of the same information we do. This means we're going to have a hell of a time stopping the proliferation of dangerous technologies.

Perle: I think it's a mistake for reformers to sometimes imply that our entire force has to be equipped with the very best systems. A very small fraction of the force can do wonders if it's properly equipped.

Is some of the reform agenda utopian and impractical, the Flash Gordon dreams of computer weenies with little knowledge of combat?

Vickers: It's not Buck Rogers technology. These technologies are here today, in many cases.

Perle: I have seen studies suggesting the initial air sorties of the Gulf War could have been conducted with something like 30 B-2s, instead of the fleet of 1,600 airplanes which was actually used. That gives you an idea of how efficient range, precision, and stealth can be.

Vickers: In this decade, one of the most practical things we could do would be to restart the B-2 line and procure additional B-2s. Right now we only have 16 operational long-range stealthy strike aircraft, barely more than the number of aircraft carriers.

Webb: It's always good to think in terms of technology, that's our strong suit. But when people start assuming that cutting-edge technology is the be-all and end-all, you have a problem.

We mustn't promote technical solutions at the expense of our ability to sustain ourselves in the more mundane, and more probable, battles. Let's not forget that after World War II it was widely assumed that any war from that point forward would be nuclear, so we eviscerated the Army and cut back on our presence around the world. Then we found ourselves in Korea. In Vietnam we got involved in a conventional war that killed or wounded 103,000 Marines alone—more casualties than the Corps suffered in World War II.

We have to produce technology, but to assume a high-tech environment is going to be the dominant or the only way that the United States military gets involved in the future is naive and dangerous. There are too many people who think that future engagements are going to last four or five days rather than weeks or months—or years.

Some say that before change can occur in the services, the central Pentagon bureaucracy has to be radically transformed. Do you agree?

Perle: I think there's a lot of room for reform in the Defense Department—it is too large, too bureaucratic. But I don't see why that has to happen first. That sounds to me like an excuse for delay.

Vickers: I don't think we have to have a lot of process reform first. Look at the last time the U.S. military was dramatically transformed—during the period between World War I and World War II. We didn't have a better political system, if anything we had more bureaucracy amidst the Great Depression. Yet we were still able to move from battleship to aircraft carrier.

Webb: Changing the United States military in a fundamental way should be done carefully, and probably slowly. Weapons systems take a long time to develop. Once you eliminate troops, it's very difficult to grow your forces larger again. And in a democracy absent a war, once defense cuts have been made, it's hard to justify adding them back, even when you've made mistakes.

I don't think there's anything wrong with a bureaucratic process for filtering changes. The parochial environment in which each of the service branches protects its interests may be frustrating to a lot of people, but it's not necessarily bad. It can help preclude what happened with Robert McNamara and his Whiz Kids in the early 1960s, when a bunch of civilians who didn't know much about the military came in and started making their own judgments about how to fight a war. They caused us a lot of problems.

Some critics complain that military reform, irrespective of the whys and hows of the process, has been hopelessly sabotaged by a lack of funding for future defense increases. Do you agree?

Perle: That implies the only way to bring about reform is by

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We mustn't promote technological solutions at the expense of our ability to sustain ourselves in the more mundane, and more probable, battles. —*James Webb*

investing more money, as opposed to reallocating the money that is available. I think people like Robert Kagan put too much emphasis on the total amount of money, and not nearly enough on how that money is spent.

Macgregor: We've treated the current military structure as a largely unchangeable status quo. If you do that, the only way you can do new things is to add more money. That's a serious mistake. We're at a unique point in history where we have an opportunity to reorganize and restructure our forces for the future, whether we spend more or not.

Webb: The request for supplemental defense funding this year probably was delayed because it would have affected the ability to get a tax cut through. And you have to do something early in an administration or it becomes difficult. What we have now is a situation where reforms have to take place under a set budget figure, which is why I think they're talking about reducing manpower.

For backers of military reform, was the size of the tax cut a mistake?

Webb: Well, it does make it much harder, no question, to argue for more money in the defense budget.

Macgregor: The tax cut is no obstacle to anything. It's critical for the United States to avoid the kind of economic stagnation that has beset Europe and Japan. Without economic prosperity, you will not long maintain an effective military.

Vickers: I tend to think that complaints about the tax cut are kind of an excuse. As one general has put it, "If you can't transform the military on $330 billion a year, you need to get new generals."

The Bushies originally said they were going to conduct studies to evaluate what's needed for twenty-first-century defense, and then set their budgets. Now it seems that, in the more common Washington pattern, they're going to let budgets drive the mission—the exact reverse of what they promised. Is this a problem?

Perle: Some time was lost, but Rumsfeld will catch up. I think the 2003 budget, which is going to be the critical budget, will reflect real reform.

Macgregor: Secretary Rumsfeld is a gifted person who can do these things. Why hasn't something happened more quickly? One reason is because he's had trouble establishing his own team. The slowness with which his aides have been confirmed on Capitol Hill is unprecedented. Many of today's middle-level staffers in the Defense Department are people who are legacies of the last administration. And their thinking and actions reflect that.

Are rivalries between the military services an obstacle to reform?

Macgregor: At high levels it's an enormous problem. And the present structure promotes it—the Joint Chiefs are a committee much better at vetoing things than at creating new initiatives. Each service chief is effectively the CEO of his respective corporation, and is not going to embrace anything that reduces the interests he represents.

We need some new people, and that's the prerogative of the President. President Kennedy replaced the Joint Chiefs relatively quickly. Lyndon Johnson did the same thing.

Vickers: Each service tends to see itself as the centerpiece. So you get these extreme reactions to any change. If you want to cut anything marginally, it's presented as the apocalypse. You can't reposition a carrier out of the Mediterranean or we'll lose all our influence in Europe. That's the level of the debate.

Webb: There's clearly a lot of inter-service rivalry, but at the same time, this sort of abrasiveness is what makes for creativity, if it's done in the right way.

Of the service branches, which is proceeding the most effectively with change?

Vickers: I think much of our current problem is really centered in the Air Force. We need space and long-range strike capabilities we don't have. The Navy also needs to enhance its undersea warfare. But the transformation of our ground forces is already proceeding reasonably well.

Macgregor: I would argue that you cannot transform all four services at once. Anyone who tries will simply meet inevitable defeat on the Hill. And if you look at the four of them, I think you can conclude that the structural problems in the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps shrink to insignificance next to the challenges facing the Army.

Perle: You can study these things to death. There have been endless reviews. What I think is really necessary—though it may not be doable politically—is for someone at the top to say: We're going to cut personnel by 20 percent over the next two years—a lot of which can be done by attrition—and we're going to take the savings and put that into a reform program.

Is Congress an obstacle or ally to dramatic military reform?

Vickers: If the Pentagon really led and the White House got behind a few reforms, Congress would basically go along. The most contentious fight is over National Missile Defense, particularly now that the Senate has changed hands. But I don't think Congress can lead. It really depends on the administration to push this stuff.

Webb: Special interests in the Congress are always hard to deal with, but there are a lot of very knowledgeable people over in the Congress, not only among the members but among the staff. As frustrating as it is in pure business terms, you need these kinds of checks and balances to prevent radical departures that would be regretted if a new administration came in. It's the American system, and it may be inefficient, but I don't think it's particularly bad when you consider the stakes.

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By Sean Paige

Under Seige

One reason our military's readiness is down: We won't let them train

As it prepares sailors, soldiers, and airmen to face enemies abroad, the U.S. military also finds itself under new pressure on the homefront. It's being told to close or curtail the use of training facilities the Pentagon says are vital to national security. From Puerto Rico to Farallon de Medinilla in the Pacific Ocean, and at numerous training sites in between, military men and women who should be practicing to go on the offensive are instead hunkered down, besieged by government regulators, national environmental organizations, and civilian citizen groups seeking to stop or severely restrict exercises they say are disturbing the peace, threatening endangered species, or polluting the air, land, and sea. The agitation that is closing the Vieques Island bombing range is only the tip of a very large iceberg that could endanger thousands of American fighting men and women come the next shooting war.

Base commanders and Pentagon brass have suffered these mounting complaints and complications in relative silence, trying to disarm critics by being good neighbors and fostering a stewardship ethic. But as isolated criticisms have taken on the character of an all-out assault, and with no hope of a truce in sight, some officers are beginning to speak out about what they euphemistically call "encroachment" problems, and warning that military readiness will tumble unless the new obstacles to training are cleared away.

The first ever hearings on encroachment issues were held by the military readiness subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee in March, and the House Armed Services Committee followed suit in May. Neither hearing generated the kind of media attention some experts believe the issue deserves. "Encroachment is often gradual and can go unnoticed, but its impact cumulatively erodes our ability to deploy combat-ready sailors and Marines," said Navy Vice Admiral James Amerault at the hearings. "Your Marines' success on the battlefield depends on having assured access to training ranges and installations on the land, sea, and in the air," added Marine Corps Major General Edward Hanlon, Jr., commander at Camp Pendleton. "However, our ability to train is being slowly eroded by encroachment on many fronts."

One aspect of the problem is the growing proximity of civilian communities to formerly remote military bases, and the growing intolerance of some citizens to noise, dust, and minor inconveniences that come with living near military activity. A larger part of the equation, however, is clearly ideological antipathy by uncompromising environmental groups. Some of the critics are obviously buoyed by the idea that in defending the interests of endangered species on military bases they're also helping to monkey-wrench the machinery of war.

Ground zero in the conflict is Vieques, a formerly obscure island off the eastern end of Puerto Rico that is the U.S. Atlantic Fleet's only live-fire training range. Vieques has been the subject of activist protests and national headlines since April 1999, when an errant bomb killed a civilian security guard working at the range. The death brought to a head years of simmering debate among Puerto Ricans about the island's status, and was seized on by headline-hunting politicians and environmentalists who claim the exercises are ruining the environment and threaten the health of the island's 9,000 inhabitants.

The Bush administration, in a move that shocked the Pentagon and raised the ire of some Republicans on Capitol Hill, suddenly surrendered to the protestors in June, announcing that the Navy will permanently halt training on the island in 2003. The *Washington Post* reported that politics played a part in the decision, as White House aides worried that the controversy threatened to undermine Hispanic support for the administration.

But the military is catching similar flak nearly everywhere it trains, and the result is dramatically altered military exercises not just on Vieques but at such storied institutions as Camp Lejeune in North Carolina, Fort Hood in Texas, and Camp Pendleton in California. At Lejeune, access to base beaches is severely restricted each year during turtle nesting season, making realistic amphibious landing exercises impossible. Because of the presence of the red-cockaded woodpecker, a protected bird, inland maneuvers face similar restrictions.

At Fort Hood, only 17 percent of the base's 185,000-acre training area remains unencumbered by one environmental restriction or another. Clean Water Act rules prohibit digging on nearly 70 percent of available training ground, meaning no breaking ground for foxholes or vehicle fighting positions. Clean

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Not In My Back Yard Environmental controls, aesthetic complaints, and political objections are obstructing military training at scores of bases. Here, Marines conduct exercises on Vieques island, soon to be closed due to Puerto Rican and ecological protests.

Air Act rules prohibit the use of smoke, flares, chemical grenades, or any other pyrotechnic devices on about 25 percent of the available training area. From March through August, military vehicles are prohibited from straying from paved roads due to Endangered Species Act strictures. Use of camouflage netting and bivouac is prohibited on 74,000 acres set aside as habitat for two birds, the golden cheeked warbler and black capped vireo. Noise restrictions prohibit the firing of artillery or rocket launchers in some areas of the base.

At Pendleton, supposedly the U.S. Marine Corps' most complete amphibious training base, only about one mile of the facility's 17 miles of beach is available for exercises year round, due in part to endangered species restrictions. During one major exercise last March, the Thirteenth Marine Expeditionary Unit was limited to only 500 yards of beach because it was the breeding season of the endangered California least tern. Off-road maneuvering is also highly restricted, and digging is prohibited, severely limiting the ability of Marines to practice the construction of artillery and mortar firing positions.

The Army's Makua Military Reservation in Hawaii has been closed since 1998 because of environmental lawsuits concerning, among other things, the protection of a tree snail. Continued U.S. use of Farallon de Medinilla, a speck of coral near Guam that Seventh Fleet aviators use for bombing practice, is currently being challenged in court due to alleged violations of the International Migratory Bird Treaty Act. Submarine training at underwater sites near the Bahamas and off Hawaii faces limitations due to alleged conflicts with the Marine Mammal Protection Act. And Marine Corps training exercises at San Clemente Island, off the coast of California, are severely restricted due to the presence of the loggerhead shrike, an endangered bird, and a creature called the night lizard.

The presence of Sonoran pronghorn antelope on Arizona's Barry Goldwater Bombing Range has spurred protests, brought lawsuits, and could lead to closure of the facility. Protection for the Florida black bear and Florida scrub jay are two reasons why Green groups are opposing the Navy's continued use of the Pinecastle Bombing Range in Florida's Ocala National Forest. The beaches where Navy SEAL teams train at the Naval Amphibious Base, Coronado Island, California, shrink by 40 percent for seven months out of every year because of the presence of an endangered bird, the snowy plover. And opposition from environmentalists nearly derailed last year's $75 million expansion of the Army's National Training Center at Fort Irwin, in California's Mojave Desert, because it allegedly represented what one group called a "death warrant" for some desert tortoise.

Though its hands are full trying to balance the missions of warrior and game warden, the Pentagon faces another serious threat from one species that actually seems to be proliferating—the disgruntled American NIMBY. "Not In My Back Yard" complaints are on the rise from residential areas close to Camp Lejeune's Greater Sandy Run gunnery range, for instance, and the local county commission has demanded that the camp shut down the Combat Vehicle Crew Qualification Range in response to other complaints.

When live-fire training was curtailed on Vieques because of protests, Marine aviators turned for training to a bombing range in Pamlico Sound, near their air station at Cherry Point, North Carolina. But that raised a new round of protests—this time from local and state officials, as well as the National Park Service, which reportedly objected to military overflights of national seashores along the outer banks. Aircraft noise is reportedly also a growing source of contention at the Naval Air Station near Fallon, Nevada.

A recent proposal by the Navy to increase the number of practice sorties it flies over Fort Hunter Liggett, near California's Big Sur, encountered immediate protest from locals and mem-

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Ethnic Activism Hurts Pilots Al Sharpton, Mrs. Jesse Jackson, Robert Kennedy, Jr., and other protesters have demanded that the U.S. Navy's only east coast live-fire practice range be closed down. President Bush recently agreed.

bers of California's congressional delegation. Though Navy officials pulled out all the stops in making their case for the flights, it was to no avail. The 250 coastal property owners who showed up for a meeting this spring seemed universally opposed. "Our life is a life of prayer, silence, and solitude," said one Benedictine monk from a monastery at Big Sur. "This proposal intrudes on that a great deal."

And at Marine Corps Air Station Miramar, near San Diego, safety worries and noise complaints about helicopters have led to lawsuits against the service by one area resident and the city of Del Mar. Several NIMBY groups, including Move Against Relocating Choppers Here (MARCH) and Residents Against Government Encroachment (RAGE) insist the helicopters are a nuisance and a danger. The Marines studied an array of alternative flight paths to and from the base as part of a 1999 settlement of lawsuits brought to block the transfer of helicopters to Miramar from closed bases. But the flight options selected by the Marines placated no one.

In fast-growing Beauford County, South Carolina the city of Beauford has actually annexed the nearby Marine Corps air station. This allowed the city to set land-use strictures within the facility, and also opened up farmlands adjoining the base for residential housing developments that are almost certain to serve as incubators for a new chorus of complaints. In October 1999, the governor of Massachusetts issued an executive order designating the Army's 15,000-acre Massachusetts Military Reservation as a wildlife refuge and water-protection area, which, pending approval by the state legislature, promises a serious test of will between the Pentagon and the state.

"Today, noise is the Air Force's number one concern when we try to modify or establish new [training] airspace," Air Force Major General Walter Buchanan, III told senators in March. "We often hear the 'Not In My Back Yard' philosophy. Some people say they want a strong defense as long as the Air Force flies somewhere else. However, if you look at a map of the United States, 'somewhere else' doesn't exist."

Clashes between training bases and nearby communities were almost unheard of in the past, when Americans seemed to understand that moving close to a base entailed less serenity and some occasional inconvenience. But tensions have escalated as cities envelope once-remote bases, and an understanding gap widens between the nation's civilian and military cultures. Meanwhile, the evolution of high tech "standoff" weaponry has greatly expanded the size of the modern battlefield, requiring more space in which to train rather than less.

The military services have tried to counter the encroachment threat by becoming better stewards of the lands they manage and by becoming better neighbors to the communities at their gates. Few would argue that the U.S. military has always been a conscientious caretaker of the outdoors, but today it can claim to be a solid environmental citizen, particularly given the inherently destructive nature of its mission.

The Pentagon pumps tens of millions of dollars directly into its endangered species programs today, and probably spends billions of dollars annually on environmental education, monitoring, compliance, and clean-up activities. A large environmental bureaucracy has metastasized within the Department of Defense, demanding the attention of thousands of military personnel and government contractors. The DoD has spent millions of dollars developing lead-free "green" munitions that will be lethal to human targets but pose no health risks to battlefield bunny rabbits. Annual awards are given out by the department highlighting stewardship programs, innovative environmental technologies, and other successes. Officials in the Pentagon now even talk with a straight face about "environmental security" issues.

In 1991, the Navy built a turtle hatchery on Vieques, which incubates eggs collected on daily sweeps of the beach during training exercises. Since then the Navy has hatched more than 17,000 hawksbill and leatherback turtles from the facility and returned them to the wild, contributing to a growth in turtle populations that—in spite of the exercises there—reportedly exceeds any other shoreline in Puerto Rico. North Carolina's Camp Lejeune also has a hatchery for turtle eggs, which biologists remove daily from beaches during training times.

Officials at Camp Lejeune also take pride in the fact that nesting clusters of red-cockaded woodpeckers on the base today number 53, up from 35 just three years ago—"an increase unmatched by any other land manager in eastern North Carolina," Hanlon recently boasted in his testimony. The birds have enjoyed a similar resurgence at the U.S. Army's Fort Jackson, South Carolina which also won a Department of Defense Environmental Security Award last year for its erosion-control projects and tree-planting activities.

The military has taken a leading role in efforts to eradicate the brown tree snake in Guam, an invasive species that has wiped out almost all the native birds on the island. Officials at Fort Carson, Colorado have been working since 1981 with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to improve habitat for the greenback cutthroat trout in the Arkansas River, and even had a broodstock pond constructed for rearing the young fish. On San Clemente Island, California the Navy spends $2.5 million annually for the protection of 42 endangered loggerhead shrike, and keeps 64 of the birds in a captive breeding population. And the population of snowy plovers is growing so rapidly at the SEAL training areas at Coronado Island that officials there reportedly worry that their "success" will lead to even more of the beach being closed to training during nesting season.

The Navy has spent $18 million to study whether active sonar

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Large portions of bases are being cordoned off as protected habitat for creatures ranging from fairy shrimp to horned lizards.

and underwater charges are bothering marine mammals, and has created artificial reefs off Oahu, Hawaii for fish. After a mother and calf West Indian manatee were killed in a collision, the Navy's submarine base at Kings Bay, Georgia outfitted tug boats and other vessels with special propeller guards, and has established no-entry zones in areas the animals are known to frequent. And the Navy has allowed marine biologists to use its once top secret Sound Surveillance System, a string of underwater receivers used during the Cold War to track Soviet subs, to conduct whale research.

The military sometimes goes to what might seem extreme lengths to be seen as good stewards. At Arizona's Barry Goldwater range, exhaustive research has been conducted into the habits of the flat-tailed horned lizard, including when during the day the creatures prefer to lie out on paved roadways, so traffic can be stopped during those times. Military personnel are also present on the range during bombing sorties to wave off planes if pronghorn antelope stray into the vicinity.

Before launching training flights over one Gulf of Mexico bombing range, officials at Florida's Eglin Air Force Base first consult with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to ensure that gulf sturgeon tagged for research purposes aren't swimming in the range's vicinity. At Marine Corps Air Station Miramar, the service has spent more than $1 million to construct and monitor dozens of shallow mud puddles—scientists call them "vernal pools"—that are habitat for the fairy shrimp, a tiny, supposedly endangered creature that has tied development in knots all across Southern California.

Self-interest and self-preservation have as much to do with such actions as ecological altruism, of course. The Marine Corps and other services accept that aiding endangered species issues is essential—even if it means turning part of a base into a *de facto* nature sanctuary—lest lawsuits or government regulators shut down an entire facility and bring training there to a grinding halt. Camp Pendleton, which since 1994 has seen its number of on-base endangered species rise from ten to 17, was not long ago in peril of losing use of well over half of its 125,000 acres to "critical habitat" designations for endangered species. That's because the Endangered Species Act not only requires the protection of threatened animals, but also preservation of their favorite sites. But the Corps worked cooperatively with the Fish and Wildlife Service to develop a natural resource management plan for the base, thereby avoiding the critical-habitat designation. Environmentalists at the Natural Resources Defense Council consider the compromise a cave-in, and have sued the government to force the effective closure of approximately 70,000 acres of the base. At nearby Air Station Miramar, host to ten endangered species, "critical habitat" designations by Fish and Wildlife also threatened to close nearly two-thirds of the facility, with a potentially devastating impact on operations. The base dodged a bullet when USFW determined the designation was not justified, but that decision has also been challenged in court by the NRDC.

The possibility that the Barry Goldwater range in Arizona might be designated as critical habitat for Sonoran pronghorn antelope could "seriously limit" Air Force use of the range, Major General Buchanan told the Senate. The Navy's representative at the hearing, Vice Admiral Amerault, expressed concern not only over the permanent closure of Vieques, but about the serious impact on readiness if environmentalists also succeed in curtailing the military's use of San Clemente Island and Farallon de Medinilla.

"The [three] ranges are the only U.S.-owned locations on the East and West Coast where both naval surface fire support and air-to-ground training operations can be conducted using live ordnance," Amerault reminded senators. Without use of Farallon de Medinilla, the air wing of the U.S. Seventh Fleet would degrade to "unready" combat status within just six months, according to Amerault. And if the suit filed last December succeeds in blocking use of the atoll, the admiral expressed fear that environmental groups will bring similar suits against every other naval training facility where migratory birds are found.

At the same hearing, Army Major General Van Antwerp warned that "while we have been successful at managing endangered species, some of these actions have come at the expense of training capabilities." He expressed "great concern" that the forced closure by the EPA of firing ranges at the Massachusetts Military Reservation set a precedent that could severely affect military readiness if followed elsewhere. "The potential impact of further administrative cease-fire orders cannot be measured," said Van Antwerp, who suggested that the EPA shut down the facility without a basis in sound science.

For his part, Major General Hanlon of the Marines told senators that the service "cannot be expected to shoulder a disproportionate share of environmental protection and still meet our readiness requirements." As a result of environmental restrictions that lessen the realism of military exercises, "we are training a generation of Marines who will have less experience in the intricacies of combat operations," he added. "Many of today's junior leaders may initially face the full challenges of combat not during training, but during conflict," the Camp Pendleton commander warned.

Hanlon asked that members of Congress "consider the unique nature of military activities when developing or reauthorizing these [environmental] laws." One top congressional staffer involved in the issue suggests that "the key thing we need is genuine balance and some legal middle ground, where you build in enough flexibility to allow the military to do the things it needs to do to do its job." This will require reform of the Endangered Species Act and other environmental laws. But unless some kind of détente can be struck between military bases and encroaching civilian communities, the alternative is an endless series of legal battles and public relations skirmishes, and an ever-constricting horizon within which U.S. troops can train for their critical and dangerous service to the nation.

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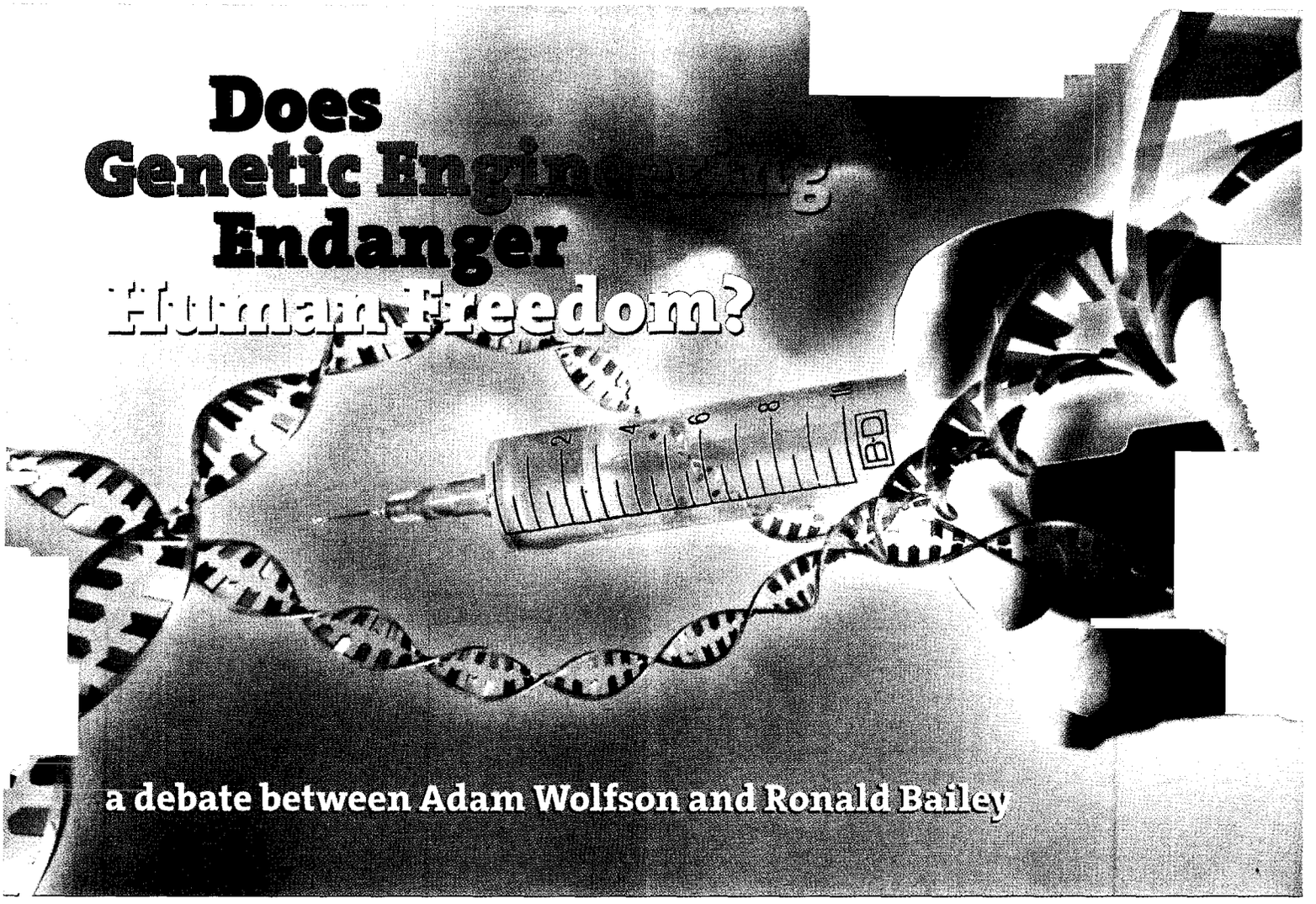
Does Genetic Engineering Endanger Human Freedom?



a debate between Adam Wolfson and Ronald Bailey

Adam Wolfson:

In *The Republic*, Socrates suggests, tongue firmly in cheek, that rulers should be bred scientifically, just as dogs, cocks, and horses are. The proposal was meant to be ludicrous. Yet today we are seriously debating whether a good way of making a horse is also a good way of making a man.

The taboo against manipulation of the human species through genetics, in place since the Nazi genocide, is breaking down. Even conservative publications like *National Review* and the *Wall Street Journal* have run articles defending aspects of the new eugenics.

There are many reasons for this breakdown, the most benign of which are the rapid advances in genetic science. The mapping of the human genome last year and numerous other breakthroughs promise exciting new medical treatments.These are obviously good things. I know of no one who wishes to halt such advances as long as they are pursued responsibly. Instead, the debate centers around something deeper: the thoroughgoing genetic transformation of man.

Harvard professor E. O. Wilson has claimed that within even the next several decades, we will enter an era of "volitional evolution," in which it will be possible to alter human intelligence and the very core of human nature itself—our basic drives and emotions. (Wilson opposes doing any such thing and argues for correcting only clear-cut genetic defects.)

It is in the ethics of such futuristic eugenics that the tensions between liberal civilization and genetic engineering are most clearly visible. Thus when I use the terms "genetic engineering" and "eugenics," I am referring to the genetic transformation of man, not to the medical treatment of disease. In what follows, I will draw on arguments first made by C.S. Lewis, Hans Jonas, and Leon Kass.

Liberals argue that scientists should be free to pursue their research without prohibition or restriction. The philosopher Ronald Dworkin, for example, argues that the principle of individualism "forbids…hobbling the scientists and doctors who volunteer to lead" the eugenic effort.

Yet freedom of inquiry in the context of genetic engineering is no simple matter. The genetic engineer attempting to improve the species asks for more than freedom of thought: He is directly intervening in our society's future. Remember, his discoveries come about only through experiments—on human beings. The end he seeks is alteration of the human condition. In both his methods and his goals, the genetic engineer's investigations intimately involve him in society, politics, and the private lives of individuals. His freedom, therefore, cannot be absolute.

Consider cloning. Many animal clones suffer from severe abnormalities: fatty livers and oversized placentas; monstrously enlarged navels and various head deformities; defective

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arteries, lungs, and immune systems. Most of these creatures have to be euthanized. This is why many scientists, including Ian Wilmut, the creator of Dolly the sheep, oppose cloning human beings. A eugenics program for humans would inevitably produce large numbers of malformed and sick infants. What will happen to these unfortunate beings? Will they be thrown away? Or recalled like a defective product?

Ronald Bailey has argued in regard to cloning that it is mere "hubris" to tell "other people what is best for them," or what degree of risk they should be allowed to bear. The liberal bioethicist Arthur Caplan has likewise argued that individuals should be free to make their own eugenic choices. But by banning cloning, society does not tell scientists or other people what is best for them, or what risks they should be allowed to take. Nor would a restriction on eugenics infringe on individual liberty. Rather, society is protecting the dignity of the potential *subjects* of the cloning or experiments. To clone or genetically engineer a human being is not to do as you please with your *own* body and life; it is to do as you please with *another person's* body and life. This distinction would have been as plain as day to that philosopher of individualism, John Stuart Mill.

Within the next several decades it will be possible to alter intelligence and the very core of human nature—our basic drives and emotions.

The genetic engineer plans to alter the human *species*, and he frequently defends his work by saying it will benefit the public. Shouldn't the public, therefore, have a say in that work? I can put it no better than Hastings Center bioethicist Daniel Callahan, who said "It is *our* world which is the object of intervention, *our* lives which may be gambled with, and *our* benefits which are alleged. Clearly, then, it is *our* decision to make, not that of the individual scientist, or the scientific community taken collectively."

According to American Enterprise Institute fellow Charles Murray, genetic engineering "will have transforming effects which spill over into our conceptions of politics, religion, and social relationships." Says Ronald Bailey: "The biomedical revolution of the next century promises to alter our culture, our politics, our lives." It should not need stating that revolutions are the public's business. To suggest that the American people, through their elected representatives, have no right of intervention here, of all places, is to disenfranchise them. It is to suggest that the price of the genetic engineer's autonomy is the people's freedom. It is to make us slaves of a scientific elite.

When debating the liberty of the consumer of these new technologies, especially parents who wish to manipulate the genetic make-up of their children, it is frequently pointed out that in our society parents control their children's education, religion, and general upbringing, regardless of whether or not the child consents. Most of us would rightly reject efforts by the state to tell parents what is best for their children.

But education does not alter a child's basic nature. It leaves the child free to revise and rebel, and ultimately to choose his own path. Genetic engineering, however, promises to calibrate skill and IQ levels, even temperament and basic drives. One need not be a genetic determinist to object to this level of control. This is one reason why we should be concerned about the current widespread use of Ritalin for children. Like genetic engineering, it is a powerful form of behavioral control exercised by parents over their children. But unlike with genetic engineering, the child on Ritalin can, at least in theory, choose eventually to stop taking his pills.

Today's advocates of eugenics differentiate themselves from the coercive eugenicists who practiced in America and Nazi Germany early in the last century. They emphasize choice and privacy and reassure us that parents can be trusted to do the right thing.

But what is the right thing? Ronald Bailey has objected to any national commission on cloning on the grounds that such a commission would impose a false consensus on America's "disparate moral communities." But if moral diversity makes a ban on cloning impossible, many other horrors might be allowed on the same grounds.

If higher IQs are allowed, why not lower IQs? If six-foot height is legitimate, why not eight feet? If being sociable is desirable, why not being either extremely aggressive or docile? Why not children bred to be servants?

It will be said that parents should only be allowed to make their children better. But what is the standard for "better" and who is to decide in a morally disparate universe? The appeal of Bailey and others to moral relativism proves too much, opening the floodgates to every genetic manipulation imaginable.

Today, card-carrying liberals and libertarians have jumped on the eugenics bandwagon. They do so at a price, however. The price is liberalism itself.

Ronald Dworkin argues that as the science of genetics advances, liberal societies may find it necessary to mandate tests for genetic defects and their correction through genetic engineering. The liberal "principle of bodily integrity," he writes, may turn out to "be one of those artifacts of conventional morality that seemed well justified before the possibilities suggested by modern genetic medicine were plausibly imagined." One's head spins at how quickly a fundamental principle becomes a mere "artifact," to be discarded for a greater eugenic good.

Others are equally prepared to slough off liberal ideals in order better to achieve eugenic goals. Though the liberal Philip Kitcher argues against coercive eugenics, he happily acknowledges that "when we know how to shape future generations, the character of our descendants will reflect our decisions and the values that those decisions embody."

Similarly, Ronald Bailey writes, "biotech will liberate future generations from today's limitations and offer them a much wider scope of freedom. This is the gift we will give them." Who are the *we*, and who are the *them*? Individual choice has vanished, as one group of people irrevocably determines the future for an entirely different group. And since *we*, the genetic liberators, will long since be dead by the time the "future generations" reach maturity, it is mere presumption for Bailey to label what is given to them a "gift." They might consider it a curse.

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Bailey does admit that "inevitably, people will make mistakes. They will sometimes perform acts with unfortunate ethical consequences. But we learn from our mistakes." What Bailey euphemistically calls "mistakes" are the defective beings created by eugenics. A world in which individual lives are gambled with by others, in which one generation lords over another, in which humans are treated as means and not ends, will not be a liberal, or libertarian, world.

Gone also is compassion. Liberal societies have done better than most in treating the mentally and physically disabled as full members of the human community. Yet eugenics' unmistakable message to the disabled is this: Better had you never been born. Better had you never burdened society with your deformities.

To genetically engineer a human being is not to do as you please with your own body and life; it is to do as you please with another person's body and life.

Finally, eugenics departs from liberalism in its novel understanding of freedom. In the liberal tradition, freedom is the right of individuals to follow their natural desires without infringing on the same right of others. This was the understanding of freedom defended by Locke, Montesquieu, and the Founding Fathers. Yet at least since the time of Rousseau, radicals of the Left and Right have viewed such a freedom as inadequate. They have sought a more ennobling freedom, one that transcends the mere desires of individuals to find expression in something higher, be it the good of the species, or the nation, or the class struggle.

Eugenics is an offshoot of this radical tradition. The Marxist believes that men are enslaved by their social system, which he proposes to overcome through "consciousness raising" and revolution. The eugenicist believes that men are trapped in their genetic inheritance, which he promises to surmount by genetic manipulation. For both the Marxist and the eugenicist, human nature must be pushed aside. As Ronald Bailey has said: "In a sense human nature can become what you want it to be."

The eugenicist does not and cannot, however, reveal what he wants human nature to be. For what he longs for is, according to Bailey, to escape "the genetic cage to a new, and unsettling, world of freedom." With that, the break from liberalism is complete. In the liberal tradition, exemplified by the Declaration of Independence, human liberty is grounded in the laws of nature. The eugenicist views this liberty as a fraud, because the laws of nature are a "cage". So he will transform human nature, and with it our understanding of rights, liberty, and happiness.

Ronald Bailey:

There's a curious convergence going on right now, where certain elements of the Right and of the Left, are uniting to ban what they think are terrible genetic technologies. What I find frightening is that some people want to stop the rest of us from exercising what I hope will be responsible freedom.

Reproductive cloning has been much in the news recently: Offshore *in vitro* fertilization specialists are running around claiming they will clone a human in the next year or so, and Congress is holding hearings on the topic. For the record, I called for a five-year ban or moratorium on human reproductive cloning earlier this year. Why? Because right now it's not safe, for many of the reasons that Adam Wolfson mentioned. Today, scientists produce healthy cloned animals only about 2 percent of the time. Attempting to clone a human being at this point is behaving negligently, because one has a high likelihood of maiming a person.

It is appropriate to protect people from such negligence. One of the worst things that could happen to the hopes of infertile people who look to reproductive cloning as a way of having genetically related children would be for hasty cloning efforts today to produce children with severe defects. Reasonable public revulsion at such an occurrence would set back reproductive cloning for decades.

But assuming that reproductive cloning can be made at least as safe as having children the old-fashioned way, or by *in vitro* fertilization (which was a technology that 20 to 25 years ago was highly criticized by members of the Right), is reproductive cloning immoral?

Who would the clone be? A complete human being who shares the same genes with another person. Today we call such people identical twins. Of course, cloned twins would not be the same age, but it's hard to see why this age difference might present an ethical problem.

Some argue that clones would undermine the uniqueness of each human being. There are those who argue that everybody has a right to a unique genome. George Will summed up some of the fears about genetic uniqueness when he asked, "can individuality, identity, and dignity be severed from genetic distinctiveness?"

But a clone would live in a very different world from that of his genetic predecessor. With greatly divergent experiences, his brain would be wired very differently. After all, even twins who grow up together are separate people and have distinct individualities and distinct personalities. The prospect of reproductive cloning has highlighted an important point: that the human mind is a dynamic entity, and that genes are static.

A person's genes provide the instructions for building his or her brain, and the mind which comes out of that brain can respond to and change with the environment. The human mind is therefore much more than the genes that brought it into existence. Human brains—malleable, fluid, flexible, changing—are the real essence of what defines us as persons. We are not mere meat puppets at the mercy of our genes. In fact, with biotech our genes are now at the mercy of our minds.

What about human embryonic stem cells, which can be coaxed into becoming any type of tissue, and have the potential to treat and perhaps cure many degenerative diseases like Alzheimer's, Parkinson's disease, diabetes, heart disease, cirrhosis, or spinal cord injuries?. Would it be immoral for you to take one of your skin cells, put its nucleus into an enucleated human egg and begin to grow it in a Petri dish with the intention of making new brain cells to cure your Parkinson's disease?

Ronald Bailey is science correspondent for Reason.

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The cell was, after all, your tissue, and it does contain your genes. The transformed cell would not exist except for your intention. It would simply have flaked off and gone down the shower drain if you left it alone.

Harold Varmus, former director of the National Institutes of Health, points out that every cell in our body has a full complement of genes, and is thus capable of becoming, with the right manipulations, liver cells, brain cells, even a human baby.

That a cell contains a complete set of human chromosomes surely does not make the cell the moral equivalent of a baby. However, if one is committed to the genetic essentialism relied on by many of those who oppose cloning and embryonic stem-cell research, then one would logically maintain that the only difference between your skin cell and your twin is the proteins which decorate their DNA strands.

We are not mere meat puppets at the mercy of our genes. With biotech, our genes are now at the mercy of our minds.

The mere existence of human DNA in a cell cannot be the source of relevant moral difference. The differences among skin cells, embryonic stem cells, and fertilized eggs are the result of how the genes in each are expressed, and that expression depends largely on which proteins suppress and promote which genes. Can moral relevance really depend on the presence of the appropriate proteins in a cell?

On the question of genetic enhancements, I recently had an exchange with AEI's own Dinesh D'Souza. D'Souza is not generally against using genetic technology to cure genetic diseases, nor does he oppose interventions to eliminate genetic diseases in future generations. Nor is he against cloning for reproductive purposes. He rejects only genetic enhancements of the human species. D'Souza asserts that those of us who see no moral objection to genetic enhancements "speak about freedom and choice, although what they advocate is despotism and human bondage." Very tough rhetoric, but ultimately nonsense.

Apparently D'Souza, like many others, has adopted a notion of hard genetic determinism that is simply not warranted by biology. A gene that enhances one's capacity for music doesn't mean that its possessor must become another Scott Joplin or Keith Jarrett. Genes simply don't work that way. Giving children enhanced capacities, like good health, stronger bodies, and clever brains, far from constraining them, would in fact be giving them greater freedom and more choices. D'Souza has no objections to fixing genetic diseases and disabilities because, after all, one can assume that the beneficiary, the not-yet born, possibly even the not-yet conceived, child, would choose to have those flaws corrected for himself if he could.

But if parents could choose a suite of genes that would guarantee to boost their kid's IQ by 20 points—is it reasonable to presume that the kid would be happy to consent to this enhancement of his capacities? Surely, he doesn't want to be dumber. How about plugging in genes that would boost his immune system and guarantee that he would never get colon cancer, Alzheimer's, or AIDS? Again, it seems reasonable to assume consent. These kinds of enhancements are ones that any human would reasonably want to have. In fact, lots of children already do have these capacities naturally, so it's hard to see any moral basis for outlawing access to them for other children.

Instead of submitting to the tyranny of chance, which cruelly deals out futures blighted with ill health, stunted mental abilities, and early death, *parents*—not *we*, not society—would be the ones who would be able to offer more possibilities to their children for fulfilling lives. Genetic enhancements to prevent these kinds of ills would not violate a child's liberty or autonomy, and certainly does not constitute slavery.

D'Souza goes on to accuse people like me, whom he calls techno-utopians, of seeking power "for exercises not over nature but over other human beings." Most of those who want access to eugenic technologies for their children are motivated, I believe, by the opposite desire: to defend their children against the manifold cruelties and indignities that nature so liberally dispenses, and thus make it possible for their children to have fulfilling lives.

D'Souza says, "The availability of enhancement technologies will create two classes in society." He wonders whether democracies could countenance the deliberate introduction of biological alterations that give some citizens a better chance to succeed than others. However, even D'Souza agrees that the type of genetic interventions being contemplated will likely become available to everyone as prices go down, ensuring that genetic inequalities will be eliminated rather than perpetuated. Once inserting genes becomes routine and cheap, it's likely that when a gene's benefits are known, most people will have access to it in fairly short order. Those children who today naturally receive genes that confer capacities that foster success will not have an advantage over children whose parents can, thanks to genetic technology, also give those genes to them.

Genetic engineering does not impair the pursuit of virtue, nor does its use mean that one treats other human beings as means instead of ends in themselves. The good old principles of autonomy—the morality of mutual respect and of beneficence, of choosing good and avoiding harm—will still apply.

E.O. Wilson argues that society has a primary right to intervene in our genetic choices. I would say, contrary to this, that society's purpose is to help individuals to fulfill their own goals, including the goals of their children.

And given the sorry history of government-sponsored eugenics, final control over human genetic engineering must never be given to any government agency. But to use genetic engineering is not, by definition, to abuse it. It is simply impossible to foresee every consequence of every new activity. To require that we know everything in advance before deploying a new technology is a recipe for cultural and economic stagnation and will, in this case, condemn future generations to untold and completely unnecessary suffering.

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In Real Life

First-person America

Running from Men to Man

By Naomi Schaefer

NEW YORK, NEW YORK—I was a slow child. My gym teacher once congratulated me for running a 15-minute mile. I can't think of a childhood torment I dreaded more than running. It was, therefore, with some surprise and not a little trepidation that I found myself last November at the starting line for the New York City Marathon.

As I moved through the crowd of tens of thousands, I remember wondering yet again how I had come to think this would be a good idea. It had been New Year's Eve 1999, and the combination of champagne, confetti, and the threat that New York might be hit by a terrorist attack at any minute probably clouded my thinking. A few of my friends, with much greater athletic prowess than me, had already decided to run. I figured it would be a good way to get my mind off of men. It sounded like the perfect feminist antidote—sweating away the memories of college sweethearts and disastrous blind dates. I was a woman of the '90s, trying to make it in the big city, looking to the future, soaring to new…well, you get the picture.

So, the first Monday morning of the new year, with the throngs of other Upper West Siders working to remove the evidence of holiday gorging from their thighs, I hit the gym. I should disclose that I was not starting from scratch. Since moving to New York I had been running about three miles several times a week. So the question became, how do you get from three to 26.2 in 11 months?

Friends who had run distances before insisted that there is a hump right around the four-mile mark. But then your breathing regularizes and you stop feeling like you're going to collapse at any moment. It is hard to fathom that your fifth mile will be easier than your second, but it's true. By the end of May, I was able to do a five-mile loop in Central Park, take a walking break, then run some more.

In late spring, prospective New York City Marathon runners have to make a commitment, at least a financial one. There are several ways you can enter the marathon. If you have proven that you are fast enough in another official marathon, you automatically get in. Otherwise you have to try the lottery. New York City admits about 29,000 people, and several thousand more apply. Until last year, to enter the lottery you either sent in an application by mail or e-mail, or came to Central Park on a Sunday morning with thousands of other people and stood in line for hours. A much higher percentage of the entrants were taken from the people who came in person, so we stood in line, and got a place. (This year, the lottery was conducted entirely over the Internet, with the first few entrants picked ceremonially by the mayor.)

Over the next month or so I upped my distance until I could run for almost two hours, with one or two walking breaks. People who don't run, or those used to running short distances for exercise, find it hard to imagine how anyone can stay interested in something so mindless for hours on end. In fact, one of the biggest obstacles to marathon training is boredom. I run with a walkman (the test for any running song is whether, no matter how winded you are, you occasionally find yourself singing it out loud). Some of my friends, though, wouldn't dream of wearing headphones. They use their running time to write entire articles in their heads, figure out how to dump their girlfriends, plan their week's wardrobe, or think big thoughts.

My mind wanders while running, too, but the music is there when I need inspiration. Often, though, the best inspiration is another person. Unfortunately, by the beginning of July—when the weather was steamy, the distractions plentiful, and the time for serious distance running had arrived—my friends from the New Year's Eve party had given up. Things looked pretty bleak.

My training schedule was as follows: From the end of July to the middle of October, I was to do a long run every other weekend, increasing the distance by two miles each time, so that by three weeks before the marathon I would have completed runs of 10, 12, 14, 16, and 18 miles. All of these runs during the summer months had to be started by 8:30 a.m. or earlier; otherwise the heat became overwhelming.

Facing this regimen without the encouragement of company, I suddenly didn't feel like one of those strong, determined women in the sneaker commercials. I was tired, bored, and hot. Then, one Friday night at the end of July, I found myself on a date with an acquaintance who had run the marathon a couple of years before. When I told him that my friends had dropped out, he said I simply could not quit, and that if I needed company for my longer runs, he'd be happy to fill in. Eight hours after he put me into a cab in Greenwich Village, he appeared on my doorstep in running clothes.

My summer loops around the park went a lot faster after that. Then, finally, I was standing at the starting line in Staten Island. I sailed across the Verrazano

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Bridge, which shook from the weight of all the runners. I ran through the streets of Brooklyn, where the crowds are so loud you can't hear your own panting. At mile seven, I saw the smiling face of my training partner, and my mother's camera pointed at me. The adrenaline pumped pretty steadily all the way to mile 14—when I decided to eat one of my Powerbars while walking over the first half of the 59th Street Bridge.

My cousins and some friends were in the crowd on the other side. (You have to tell everyone ahead of time on which side of the street you plan to run so they can find you.) The miles in northern Manhattan and the Bronx can be pretty discouraging. The crowds thin, and you realize that even though you have run 18 miles, you are nowhere near finished.

Finally, about five hours after the start of the race, I entered Central Park. I turned up my music and picked up the pace. When I came around the last corner at Columbus Circle, I could see the finish line. I was nauseous. I thought about the people waiting for me at the other end, one guy in particular. I wanted to laugh when I remembered why I started all this, but I hardly had the strength to smile.

No sooner had I completed my post-race pizza than my companion suggested we run the marathon together in 2001. Delirious, perhaps, I agreed. Still, I can't say I wasn't a little relieved when I found out recently that I didn't make the lottery. This year, I'll wait for him at the finish line.

Naomi Schaefer is a TAE *contributing writer.*

Marines for Turkey

By Suzy Ryan

OCEANSIDE, CALIFORNIA—Last year I woke up on Thanksgiving morning feeling sorry for myself.

First, my extended family was celebrating the holiday in a different part of the country. Second, my husband and I had invited two Camp Pendleton Marines for dinner instead—and suddenly I didn't feel like cooking, cleaning, or even getting out of bed.

I didn't want to spoil the day, and thought jogging a few miles would help, so I sprinted outside hoping to end my pity party for one. The bright sunshine encouraged me to thank God for every blessing I could think of—my family's health, food, good weather, and by the time I returned home, I felt better. But not much. I jumped in the shower as my husband and children left to pick up our guests.

About an hour later, I heard a knock on the bedroom door. It was Keegan, my nine-year-old son. "Mom," he said, "The Marines are here."

I motioned him to sit as I fixed my hair. "Tell me about them."

"They look tired, Mom," Keegan said. "They told dad they just finished boot camp, whatever that is. I'm glad they're here." With that, he bounded out the door.

Then it hit me. Keegan only had nine more years and he would be venturing out on his own. Soon he might be away from his family for the holidays, depending on another person's hospitality. Time was short, and I didn't want to waste another minute.

Suddenly, the day of duty turned into a journey of joy. I was excited to get to know these two guests.

And what wonderful men they were. Throughout the day, we laughed, watched football, listened to the kids play the piano, and took a long walk. But most of all, we peppered them with countless questions about their military experience. We were impressed by their willingness to serve and sacrifice for our country. We were proud to share a meal, and a nation, with them.

The day passed too quickly, and it was almost time for them to leave. "Do you guys like pumpkin pie?" I asked.

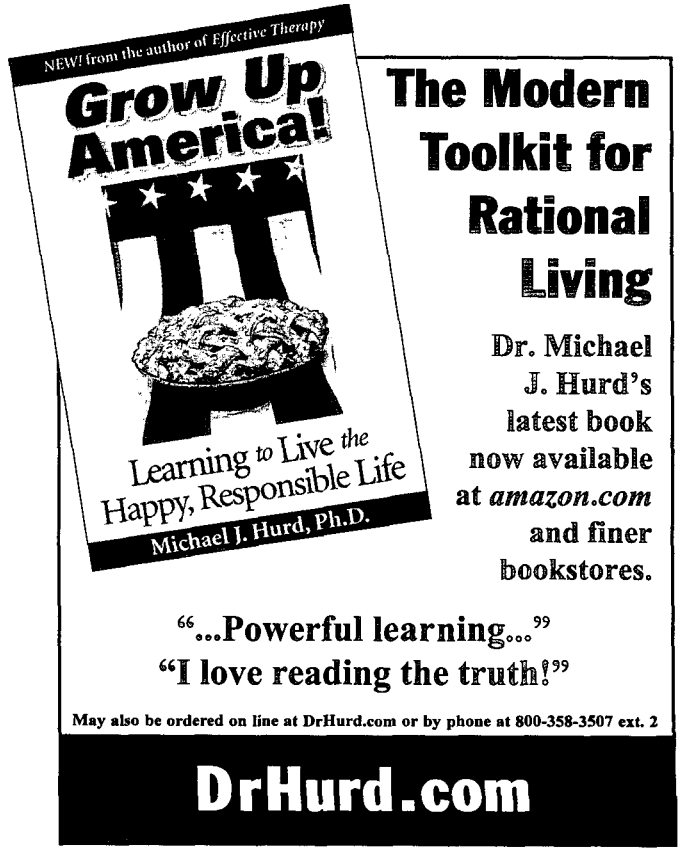
They looked at each other. "Why yes, Ma'am," Jonathan, the one from Missouri, said. "Turkey day wouldn't be the same without pumpkin pie." I smiled, and cut them each huge pieces, then watched them devour every crumb.

Soon after, we received a letter from Jonathan. He wrote, "I have been granted leave for Christmas. I am very happy to get to go home. Once again I would like to thank you for the kindness you showed Andrew and me on Thanksgiving day. You are a good family and a rare one at that."

But Jonathan, it is I who should thank you. You helped me remember all I have to be thankful for. You reminded me what a privilege it is to serve others. You changed my entire focus during the holiday season.

Enjoy your liberty passes. You deserve them.

Suzy Ryan writes regularly from the San Diego area.



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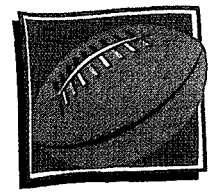
Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero



Political Football

If baseball, the greatest of sports, is stereotypically regarded as the game of intellectuals—with annoying eggheads who throw like girls wearing Red Sox and Cubs hats with bravado—then football is the sport of the lunkhead, the lamebrain, the brawny illiterate. Poets and novelists —Donald Hall, Marianne Moore, Bernard Malamud—find beauty and metaphor in baseball; the football novel occupies less shelf space than hockey haiku.

Yet football, however unpoetic, has been the sport of American politicians, even the odd political intellectual. Why, is something of a mystery, for football is committee meetings punctuated by violence, while government is...well, the mystery is solved. Henry Adams once defined politics as the systematic organization of hatreds; Vince Lombardi would have understood. (The Green Bay Packers coach was a Bobby Kennedy Democrat.)

College football was a virtual prerequisite for the Republican presidents of postwar, pre-millennium America: Nixon at Whittier, Ford of the Michigan Wolverines, Eureka's Reagan, Eisenhower at West Point. To his lifelong regret, a knee injury (against Tufts, of all powderpuffs) relegated Ike, whom the *New York Times* deemed "one of the most promising backs in Eastern football," to the West Point cheerleading squad, where he huzzahed on the Black Knights of the Hudson decades before cheerleader Senator Trent Lott shook his pom-poms for Ole Miss.

Gerald Ford had to choose between football and politics before his political career even began, and he selected the gridiron: In 1940 Ford resigned from the original executive committee of the antiwar America First Committee because he feared that his involvement might jeopardize his position as assistant football coach at Yale.

Long before former Buffalo Bills quarterback Jack Kemp spoke of football as a solvent of racial hostility, another America Firster, New York Republican Congressman Hamilton Fish, a Walter Camp All-American tackle at Harvard who had commanded a black infantry unit in World War I, acted as a congressional ombudsman for black America.

Football intellectuals are rarer than gridiron politicos, though more common than drop kicks. Newly inducted Pro Football Hall of Fame coach Marv Levy of the Buffalo Bills is a Harvard M.A. who was beloved by his players for stumping them with pregame-speech references to such obscure historical figures as Winston Churchill. But the sport's greatest contribution to American intellectual life was Vernon Parrington, author of *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927-30), the towering three-volume history of American literature whose sweep and style have yet to be matched.

A classic American autodidact, Parrington was a Kansas farmboy and former semi-professional baseball player in the Kansas League who hated every minute of his Harvard education, except those glorious hours reading on his own in the library. Repatriated to the Dust Bowl, he taught English at the University of Oklahoma and walked the sidelines in a tweed suit and tie as the school's second football coach.

"Everything Parrington touched he seemed to vitalize," marveled one chronicler of Sooner football. Between 1897 and 1900 he compiled a record which ranks him behind only the somewhat less scholarly Sooner coaches Barry Switzer (who was also an author) and Bud Wilkinson.

Parrington, a William Jennings Bryan populist, was a leftist exception to the generally Republican coloration of footballers. His fellow OU coach Wilkinson was more typical: After coaching the Sooners from 1947 to 1963, winning three national championships, Wilkinson ran for the U.S. Senate in 1964 as an Oklahoma Republican. Talk about bad timing: Coach Wilkinson was hobbled by the Goldwater landslide and lost narrowly to the intermittently interesting Fred Harris, who was one-third sparkling Vernon Parrington populist and two-thirds LBJ hack.

Poets and novelists find beauty and metaphor in baseball. The football novel occupies less shelf space than hockey haiku.

Oklahoma remains the undisputed capital of pigskin pols, the state's congressional delegation including bandana-topped Sooners quarterback J.C. Watts and the pride of Tulsa, NFL Hall of Fame receiver Steve Largent. As if playing catch-up, archrival Nebraska of the Big 12 has sent the stoic Cornhusker coach Tom Osborne to the chamber once dignified by the likes of Henry Clay and Sonny Bono.

So this fall, as you take in the NFL between TV timeouts—or, better, watch a high school or college football game in person—be careful what you yell. For the coach may be a Jeffersonian lit-crit, the dumb lineman may not be so dumb, and the crafty quarterback may have his eye on the Ways and Means Committee once he passes the end zone.

—Bill Kauffman

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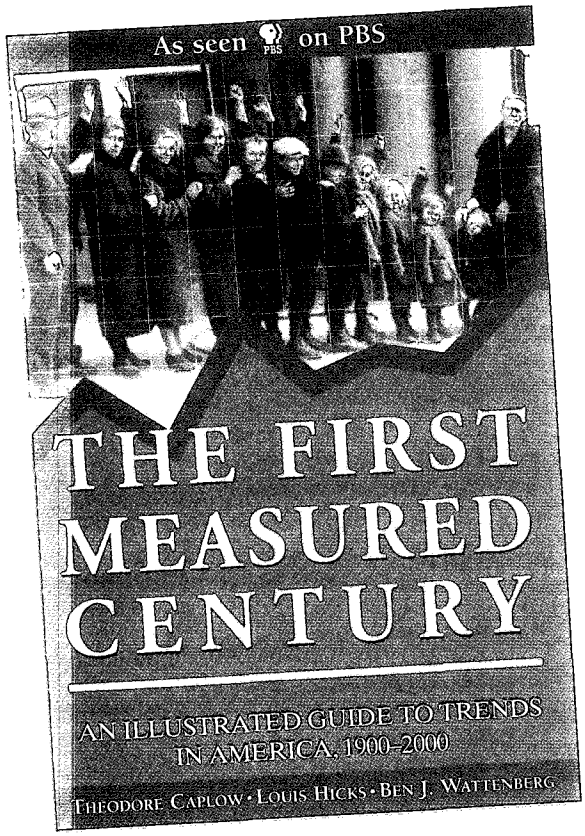

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the Law

Curb Judges and Restore Politics

By George Liebmann

Eager to curb excesses by judges and special-interest groups, recent Republican administrations have adopted a simple strategy: policy through personnel. In other words, reform the legal system by appointing judges who will rein in judicial abuses.

This approach has grave limitations. For one thing, the two parties alternate in the national captain's seat, and the continued dependence of the Democratic Party on identity politics means that many activist judges will end up with lifetime appointments. Moreover, Senate confirmation is thought to require nominating "stealth candidates" for judicial posts, who almost by definition lack the strong convictions that are needed to stop legal activism.

The result is that most seated judges are now narrowly interested, conventional-minded, upper-income lawyers, products of bureaucratic firms and agencies. In the long run they will conform to the fashionable ideas of our current warped legal culture. This is why British barrister and historian Peter Calvocoressi opposed judicial review for his own country and suggested 40 years ago that judicial review of legislation can easily "deflect law from the service of society to the service of a class." Law professor Martin Loughlin has written of the growing tendency of law to devour politics, to the detriment of both methods of decision making. Exaggerated legalism brings uniformity and centralization, rigid government, loss of citizen initiative, polarization in opinion, and ultimately the corruption that accompanies concentrated power.

Successful efforts to limit judicial excess must go beyond the appointment power alone. When federal courts made it too easy for criminals to use *habeas corpus* to appeal state court decisions to federal courts, this excess was intelligently curtailed by a federal law, just as abuse of injunctions against labor unions was curbed in 1932 by the Norris La Guardia Act. Other hot buttons like broadcast regulation, Social Security disability, and nuisance regulation are adjudicated by administrative agencies. All these curbs on judicial interference in public policies have been far more effective than waiting for new judges to be appointed. Indeed, a willingness to resort to direct curbs on the judiciary as a whole is a fundamental test of the seriousness of any legal-reform movement.

The most egregious judicial excesses are the attempts to invalidate legislative compromises, to redistribute large sums of money from group to group, or to arrange judicial processes so as to disadvantage particular interests. Most of these should be combated directly. This could be done in many ways:

Stop judge-shopping Since nearly a thousand federal district judges throughout the country are equipped with the power of injunction, judge-shopping is easy. Some judges, the late Miles Lord of the federal district court in Minnesota being a notorious example, operated virtual injunction mills. Advocacy groups routinely go to friendly forums to seek restraining orders that will temporarily nullify and discredit new laws. This delays their effectiveness for months and years, and often lends an unmerited air of illegitimacy to their standing in the public mind.

To avoid this kind of manipulation, most foreign systems restrict judicial review of legislation either to a single constitutional court, as in France and Germany, or to a handful of appellate courts, as under recent British legislation. An analogous reform in America would restrict the power to block new legislation to federal Courts of Appeal, while allowing federal District Courts to try cases and issue fact findings. There are precedents for such action: In statutes like the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and the Welfare Reform Act of 1996, Congress has frequently channeled Constitutional litigation to particular federal courts. Prior to 1962, most litigation attacking federal statutes and regulations was required to be brought in the District of Columbia.

Shifting of legal fees The Civil Rights Attorneys' Fees Act requires that states and local jurisdictions must pay the legal fees of even partially successful plaintiffs who sue them. The Act provides no reverse fee-shifting against unsuccessful plaintiffs, however, and so has become a major weapon in the hands of advocacy groups, particularly when they sue small and financially weak municipalities and school districts. The threat of having to pay opposing lawyer fees often terrorizes officials into settling cases or abandoning appeals.

As I write, the Annapolis, Maryland city council is being urged not to appeal a court's invalidation of an anti-drug-loitering ordinance. The ACLU claims its lawyers are already entitled to $200,000 in fees, and will be entitled to still more for their work if there is an appeal. By heavily publicizing such an award, the ACLU has

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deterred most of the nation's 15,000 school districts from experimenting with drug-testing programs. Similarly, the availability of lawyer fee awards to students who use the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act to contest school discipline has eroded orderliness in public schools and resulted in awards of staggering size against hard-pressed schools.

Other celebrated instances of abuse include multi-million-dollar claims by feminist lawyers against VMI and The Citadel, and a large claim by Harvard professor Laurence Tribe in a rather simple case against a Massachusetts liquor board. This unjust and one-sided provision should be eliminated. Legal fee-shifting should either operate in both directions, or else be confined to cases of intentional wrongdoing, rather than those involving debatable and undecided issues. Public causes of genuine merit can be advanced by advocacy groups raising their own funds.

Lawyers for the poor In the 1996 Welfare Reform Act, Congress tried to rein in the Legal Services Corporation, which provides free lawyers for the poor. LSC lawyers have often acted to block government actions like attempts to move undeserving persons off the welfare rolls. The whole idea of the Legal Services Corporation is somewhat dubious: Do we really want to have taxpayers pay for a politically charged "social justice" movement staffed by young, highly ideological lawyers?

Unfortunately, when the Legal Services Corporation originated during the Johnson administration, a different and more promising way to assist the poor was rejected. A study by Alfred Kahn of the Columbia School of Social Work had suggested the creation of a network of Citizens' Advice Bureaus, based on the British model. These were to be manned by advocates knowledgeable in various occupational disciplines (not just the law), who were of politically diverse rather than uniform persuasions, and who were civic volunteers, not paid activists. Their objective would have been to place individuals in contact with social agencies, private and charitable organizations, relatives, and others who might help them, and to re-integrate the poor into society rather than to assist them in litigating against it.

President Bush's court reforms mustn't be limited to picking new judges.

A second road not taken was proposed by Judge Henry Friendly in the *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* in 1965: the ombudsman. Most bureaucratic mistreatment of poor people results from maladministration—errors that would be corrected if the public and responsible officials knew of them. These mechanisms, familiar in Scandinavia, in continental Europe, and to some extent in Britain, have been scarcely explored in the United States, notwithstanding the efforts of Judge Friendly and Kenneth Culp Davis, the leading American writer on administrative law. The Bush administration would be justified in pruning Legal Services if it fostered these alternatives.

Multi-million-dollar class-action lawsuits The mushrooming growth of class-action lawsuits (producing billions of dollars in fees for activist attorneys) is another matter in dire need of attention. These lawsuits stem from little-noted changes in the federal civil-procedure rules that were instituted in 1966. The new rules made it easier for class-action lawsuits for damages, allowing product-liability class claims even in cases where there had been no negligence, and against remote parties in the chain of distribution. These class actions have bankrupted whole industries, and given rise to huge attorney fees which are often recycled into political contributions to defenders of the tort system—thereby manipulating our political processes as well.

Structural decrees Finally, Americans should take a good look at federal decrees in civil-rights cases. These days, civil-rights injunctions frequently regulate things like the size of prison cells, the number of students in classrooms, the nature of meals served to convicts, and even the required inclusion of specified auditoriums and athletic facilities in minority school buildings. "Special masters"—almost invariably people with political commitments—have been appointed by courts to manage or supervise schools, jails, mental institutions, even whole police forces.

In Maryland, the ACLU obtained a federal consent decree requiring the controversial dispersion of public housing. Housing vouchers can now be used only in neighborhoods under 30 percent black. The ACLU also obtained a state court decree requiring hundreds of millions of dollars in new school spending—the decree being entered with only one sentence of findings, in a way that adversely affected numerous jurisdictions which were not permitted to intervene. This is an abuse of democracy and the rule of law.

Such "consent" decrees, which were unknown until 1972, completely undermine local accountability in the administration of public institutions. They continue only because some politicians like their political effects. They plainly need to be restricted.

The Bush administration should not behave as though legal reform begins and ends in its personnel office. It must devise better ways than lawsuits to address grievances. It should sponsor laws curtailing federal criminal jurisdiction, which exploded during the Clinton administration thanks to new laws creating several dozen fresh federal capital offenses, as well as statutes broadening jurisdiction over firearms and sex offenses.

The new administration should also act to curb abuse of the "discovery" process in lawsuits, by limiting the number of depositions, and requiring justification for broad document requests. There must be vigorous challenges to judges who impose broad injunctions that bind future government officials.

Above all else, we must restore a more appropriate division of labor between law and politics. This requires a recognition that politics is an instrument of compromise, not a device for acquiring absolute power. Without a climate of reason, political grievances cannot be addressed effectively, and the courts on which we rely for fair trials and what Aristotle called corrective justice will be increasingly perceived as partisan and corrupt.

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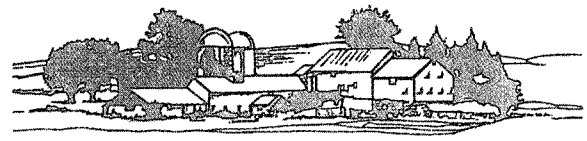
Back in the Farm Subsidy Trap



By Blake Hurst

The 1995 farm bill, called "Freedom to Farm," was supposed to be the end of all farm subsidies. It was to be the coup de grace to welfare kings driving John Deere tractors, the end to what I once called, describing my own family's situation, "four generations of middle-class welfare." What a fine idea it was. The freedom to plant whatever we wanted, as farmers followed market signals for the first time since the 1920s. Gradually declining payments, so farmers could wean themselves from the government teat. Expanded efforts on trade, so that the world market would absorb the inevitable increase in production.

But five years after the passage of the bill, farm subsidies are at an all time high, surpluses are at uncomfortable levels, and exports are essentially flat. Freedom to Farm is set to expire in 2002, and the House Agriculture Committee just offered up a replacement farm bill that continues subsidies as far as the eye can see—including *new* payments for previously unsubsidized livestock and crops (like fruits and vegetables)—and actually increases total government payments to farmers.

Freedom to Farm failed to end farm subsidies because farm prices fell like a stone about halfway through the life of the bill. Farmers and politicians discovered that their allegiance to self-sufficiency, freedom, and all of the hardier virtues was closely tied to their bank accounts, in the case of the former, and the nearest election, in the case of the latter. A series of emergency bills were passed, and are responsible for today's record level of farm subsidies. (Here in Missouri, farm subsidies are actually greater than farm profits, meaning that without government payments, farming in the state would operate at a loss.) The farm bill passed in late July by the House Agriculture Committee would permanently increase spending to more than the levels provided by recent "emergency" bills. Of course, if farmers "need" more, or an election is planned, even this could rise further.

Farm prices and income dropped in the late 1990s for three reasons. We are in the midst of our sixth straight year of good yields, uninterrupted by crop failure. While, of course, a good thing, it is highly unusual and has kept farm prices low. Droughts are painful, but they tend to work off surpluses, and improve farm profits in the year after. Second, the Asian economies collapsed, robbing farmers of their fastest growing export market. Third, government failed to keep its promise to open other export markets, depriving farmers of the chance to compete worldwide on a level playing field.

Finally, the world has been reminded that farmers are not always rational. So long as we have enough money in the bank to plant one more year, that is exactly what we do, regardless of how our costs compare to prices. Farmers farm because they like to, and need to keep busy. Low prices don't necessarily drive marginal land out of production, especially not as long as Uncle Sam keeps the money flowing. You see, there's always the chance the other guy will have a drought, or that prices will spike, and then we can make a killing. By erasing the economic penalty for this kind of romantic industriousness, government payments of any kind inflate production.

The ten-year cost of the House proposal is estimated to be nearly $80 billion. Prices will have to rise considerably in order to keep taxpayer costs down to even those astronomical levels. At this years' prices, corn alone could soak up almost $8 billion, without even considering rice, cotton, honey, peanuts, wool, and other subsidies. As usual, the bulk of subsidies goes to the biggest farmers. Just 160,000 farms (about 7 percent of the U.S. total) will receive over 40 percent of the subsidies.

The House bill continues the "market transition payments" that were supposed to wean farmers from subsidies, forever and ever, amen. Since the transition to the market has been, shall we say, delayed, they've changed the name to Fixed Decoupled Payments. Those congressmen really have a way with words. The awkward title refers to the fact that Fixed Decoupled Payments are sent to farmers no matter what the price level. Even if market prices soar, those Fixed Decoupled Payments keep arriving like clockwork. Newsmen, the popular media, and movies all portray farmers as dummies, but neither scriptwriters nor journalists nor anchormen have anything so handy as Fixed Decoupled Payments directly deposited into their bank accounts.

The change in power in the Senate will add some different issues to the Farm Bill mix. Senator Harkin of Iowa has introduced a conservation bill that would pay farmers for farming practices like conservation tillage, crop rotation, and the use of cover crops. Harkin argues that good conservation, which can hurt farm profits in the short run, is a public good, and the public ought to help pay for it. Farmers, while generally very conscientious stewards of their farms, have traditionally reacted suspiciously toward proposals hatched by environmentalists, but they may find themselves attracted to

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popular new forms of economic support justified on ecological grounds.

Brian Klippenstein, a Senate staffer and long-time student of farm issues, says another advantage of Harkin's bill is that it will "irritate the French." Klippenstein, whose language I've cleaned up slightly, has a valid point. The more traditional farm subsidies envisioned in the House bill would bump up against limits the World Trade Organization places on agricultural subsidies, which could eventually lead to sanctions from our trading partners. Conservation payments, however, are much less tightly controlled. Europe has already proceeded far down this road, paying farmers to maintain stone fences and the like. Now we're following.

Like so much of the present federal government, farm subsidies had their start in the New Deal. FDR's agriculture secretary, Henry Wallace, presided over the first farm bill, and his Department of Agriculture was home to some of the most famous of Roosevelt's brain trust, including Rexford Tugwell. In 1930, Tugwell described the average farm as "an area of vicious, ill-tempered soil with a not very good house, inadequate barns, makeshift machinery…tired, overworked men and women…a place where ugly, brooding monotony that haunts by day and night unseats the mind." Obviously Wallace and Tugwell felt they had a lot to correct, and they set about their task with a passion. Farmers' problems were much the same in the 1930s as they are today. Technology had increased production more quickly than the market could absorb at profitable prices, and tillers were being forced from their land.

We've learned a few lessons about how to cope with this. Wallace established a policy that he called the "ever normal granary," which was supposed to level out prices by buying grain when prices were low, and releasing it when the price rose. That policy remained a fixture of farm policy until the late 1980s, when what was by then called the grain reserve threatened to cover many Midwestern towns in a man-made mountain of grain. Various infamous giveaways resulted, and government-held stocks were abandoned as a tool of farm policy.

The second policy tool that we've abandoned is supply control. From the 1930s until the early '90s, farmers were paid not to produce, in order to keep prices high. Thanks to the Soil Bank of the '50s and '60s and the "setasides" of the '70s and '80s, some of the most productive farmland in the world was left idle over the last half century, producing only "natural cover" (which would be weeds). But it eventually occurred to policy makers that allowing our competitors to plant for export while we were idling land was a self-destructive act. The U.S. still has the Conservation Reserve Program, which holds land out of production, but most of the land in the program is agriculturally marginal. Supply control was a consideration when the reserve was formed, but today it is mostly a means of protecting vulnerable land.

The 1995 farm bill was supposed to bring the end of middle-class welfare for farmers. What a fine idea it was.

To say that the bill passed by the House Agriculture Committee is more rational than previous farm policies is not to say that it makes sense. To write a law that attempts to control a whole industry, from now until 2011, is an exercise in arrogance, and one that will lead to unintended consequences. Freedom to Farm subsidized soybeans at a higher level than in the past, which led to an increase in soybean acreage at the expense of wheat. Now the bureaucrats are trying to reverse that. But no one can predict what will happen between now and 2010, so the next bill will have to correct the mistakes made this time. It's a never-ending cycle, always one step behind the market and the technology used to produce food and fiber.

And even though today's farm policies allow more flexibility than in the past, they still trap farmers in byzantine webs. To remain eligible for subsidies, for instance, acreage cannot be shifted to fruits or vegetables—fruit and vegetable producers don't want other farmers to use their subsidies to finance a shift into direct competition with apple orchards and tomato patches. But recipients of field crop subsidies *can* grow lentils, mung beans, and dry peas on their "base" acres. Clearly, the mung bean lobbyist was out of the room when that provision was written. Maybe there are no mung bean lobbyists. Apparently they need a lobbyist, and probably a PAC.

The most interesting question about farm subsidies is why we have them at all. The answer is easy: We have them because we've always had them.

This year, fruit and vegetable growers decided it would be nice if they had their own billion-dollar subsidy program, rather than the ad hoc emergency help they've received in the past. But the House committee turned them down flat. I don't know that fruit and vegetable growers are any less deserving of aid than I am. For all I know, they've had rougher economic times than the growers of traditionally subsidized crops. Yet they were turned down, while subsidies going to corn farmers like me are slated to increase.

There's a reason for this: The cost structure of corn farming now depends heavily on the subsidies that have existed for a lifetime. You see, the government payments are almost immediately capitalized into the value of land. The cost of buying or renting ground is elevated to reflect the value of past subsidies, and a decline in future subsidies would devastate farm values. So they "must" continue simply because they've been there so long.

If past history explains why we have a Farm Bill at all, then geography explains why it is so lucrative. Both the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee and the ranking member are now from Texas. A little appreciated fact today is that Southerners are always more in favor of higher subsidies than are the black land farmers of the Corn Belt. Very simply, the climate and soils of the South are not competitive with those of the American Midwest, or our emerging competitors in Brazil and Argentina. If Freedom to Farm had actually ended farm subsidies, the dislocation would have been much greater in Texas than Illinois, in Mississippi than Iowa.

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Although the crops grown in the Midwest receive the lion's share of overall subsidies, because of the area's sheer productivity, the per-acre payments for crops grown in the South are greater.

So, here we are again, right where we've always been. And farmers really do hate it. We like to think of ourselves as independent and hard-working, as sturdy yeomen standing on our own two feet, pitting ourselves daily against man and nature. With, in the latest fiscal year, the help of $32 billion in public aid.

We don't like receiving those subsidies, but too many of us don't see any way out. Farming is changing, though, and some of these changes will make traditional farm programs less effective and applicable in the future. For one thing, fewer and fewer farm commodities are exchanged in the traditional commodity markets, as more farmers become part of supply chains, signing contracts with food processors more interested in quality, guaranteed delivery, and the way the food was produced than in price and quantity. Twenty years ago on our farm here in Northwest Missouri we produced corn and soybeans. Now we raise white corn for tortillas, non-genetically modified corn for specialized markets, and other corn that goes to an ethanol plant in which we have an ownership interest. We are growing tofu beans for the Japanese market, and bedding plants that are contracted before they're planted. Although we continue to receive subsidies on our traditional program crops, we are moving away from this.

Farmers are also able to produce environmental goods, lacking only the means of marketing them. Carbon sequestration credits, fee hunting, payments for wetland development, endangered species preservation credits, and various other green payments are possible some day. Some of the environmental groups that so delight in telling us what not to do could serve their stated goals better by working to reward us for doing the things they want.

It is a tragedy for my part of the world that the dreams embodied in Freedom to Farm were shipwrecked on the shoals of low corn, wheat, and soybean prices—because farm subsidies, while they shore up the economic structure of agriculture, do little to preserve the long-term health of rural America. The county I live in lost 20 percent of its population in the last decade, as farms consolidated, small businesses closed, and little towns suffered. Subsidies guaranted us just enough income to keep us on the same path, to prevent us from facing facts and making new alignments. We lose the kind of entrepreneurial spark that could revitalize our small towns and communities, because we spend too much time protecting our Fixed Decoupled Payments and old ways of doing things, and too little time thinking about what we can do to start new ventures and manage our existing ones in different ways. Seeing us stagnated in a subsidy trap, our smart daughters and sons leave for nearby cities where they make great employees for more fluid businesses.

The farm bill finally passed by Congress this fall will be some combination of the back-to-subsidies bill passed by the House committee and Senator Harkin's subsidies-for-environmentalism plan. Meanwhile, Europe, which should be a tremendous market for America's farmers, will continue to be mostly off-limits because of their own vastly more obese subsidies and tariffs. Brazil will continue to increase production and build its agricultural infrastructure, growing into a super-competitor under the umbrella of our own subsidies. And we American farmers will return to the arcane world of target prices, "loan rates," and "deficiency payments" set in D.C. offices. My home town of Tarkio will continue to shrink. Already two of my kids have jobs in Kansas City and Columbia. And I feel guilty about all those direct deposits Uncle Sam puts into the family bank account.

But I continue to spend the money, because I'm in the same trap as every other farmer. The Henry Wallace Birthplace and Museum is just up the road about 75 miles. I don't think I'll visit.

Long-time TAE *contributing writer Blake Hurst farms a large Missouri spread with his father and brothers and family.*

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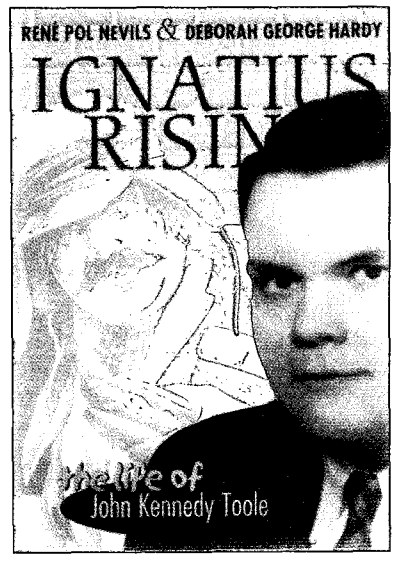

A CONFECTION OF GENIUS

By Philip Langdon

Ignatius Rising: The Life of John Kennedy Toole
By René Pol Nevils and Deborah George Handy
Louisiana State University Press, 234 pages, $24.95

At Christmas 13 years ago, I gave my wife *A Confederacy of Dunces*, John Kennedy Toole's hilarious novel of life in a New Orleans populated by hustlers, homosexuals, insular working-class whites, put-upon blacks, ineffectual cops, and hapless office hands, circa 1963. She tried 40 pages of it and gave it back, unimpressed.

But when I read *Confederacy* myself, I was so taken with its loopy dialogue, especially the utterances of its loftily supercilious main character, Ignatius J. Reilly, that I later added two spoken versions of the book to my collection. I'm not the only one who got hooked: The novel, which Louisiana State University Press had only modest hopes for when it was first published in 1980, has been reprinted many times and translated into 20 languages.

Confederacy is a testament to Americans' schizophrenic attitudes toward stereotypes. If all stereotypes are bad (as one of the reigning dogmas of our day insists), the fact remains that Toole's consummate skill in mining the humor in stereotypes is a large part of the reason why the book has sold more than 1.5 million copies worldwide. The book is very funny. Sad, too. Not because of the daily tribulations the characters bumble through, but because many readers are aware that the author took his own life at 32, 11 years before the novel was published and 12 years before it won the Pulitzer Price for fiction.

In Toole's novel, it's O.K. to have prancing gays cavorting in the French Quarter. It's O.K. to have an uneducated black character, Burma Jones, working as a janitor in the shabby Night of Joy bar, complaining constantly that his $20-a-week pay "ain even startin to be a minimal wage." It's O.K. because the characters are funny, and because Toole was an equal-opportunity parodist (white Protestants are the group most strongly deplored by the Catholic Ignatius). These characters were created in the early 1960s when Americans still believed that "sticks and stones may break my bones but words will never hurt me."

Toole's characters, stereotypes and all, were drawn from real acquaintances. The figure of Ignatius, as reported in this first published biography of Toole, was based on a professor at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Bob Byrne, who dressed in unruly colors, wore a red deer-stalker cap (Ignatius's cap was green), had weight problems, played the lute, often discussed the medieval philosopher Boethius and the wheel of Fortuna, and "was forever talking about theology, geometry, and his rich inner life." There wasn't much that Toole made up. He simply captured the world's, and especially his native New Orleans', absurdly real sights and sounds.

Confederacy found its way into print thanks to Toole's mother, Thelma, who forced a smudged onionskin copy of her dead son's manuscript onto a reluctant Walker Percy. The courtly Percy was astonished to discover it was a gem, energized by the preposterous Ignatius, "slob extraordinary, a mad Oliver Hardy, a fat Don Quixote, a perverse Thomas Aquinas rolled into one—who is in violent revolt against the entire modern age."

Ignatius Rising answers the two questions every reader of *Confederacy* has asked himself: How much did Toole resemble Ignatius, and how did he end up a suicide? Toole himself was no slob. He taught literature at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Hunter College for Women in New York, and Dominican College in New Orleans. He dressed in starched white shirts and dark neckties even in the late 1960s, when collegiate fashion was descending into the countercultural abyss.

Unlike Ignatius, Toole was a sought-out raconteur and a popular lecturer until he was overwhelmed by mental illness and alcohol in the last three years of his life. He had been a respected young officer during his stint in the Army in the early '60s, when he banged out the first version of the novel at Fort Buchanan in Puerto Rico.

René Nevils and Deborah Hardy do a fine job of showing how Toole came to grief as he tried to get Robert Gottlieb at Simon & Schuster to publish his work. The letters that Gottlieb wrote to Toole are warm, intelligent, and well intended, but they overwhelmed the desperately insecure Toole. After Toole had done his best to revise the book as suggested, Gottlieb still wasn't satisfied (a common occurrence in the writing business). With his novel in limbo, Toole's unsatisfying

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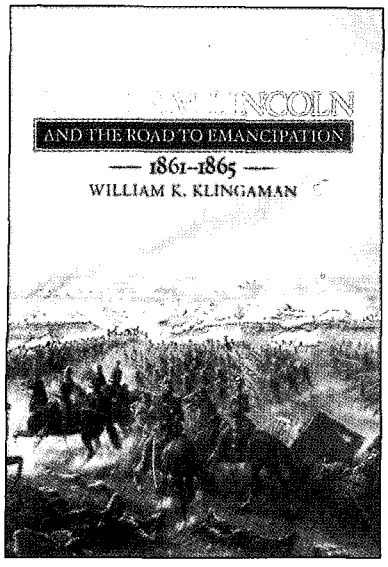

existence as a mama's boy in the home of the imperious Thelma made him more and more emotionally unstable. He became depressed, paranoid, and eventually unable to teach and incapable of supporting his parents.

Thelma, who proclaimed her dead son a "genius," was a flaming narcissist who abused nearly everyone she knew, Walker Percy included. Contact with Thelma no doubt sowed some of the vulnerabilities that culminated in John Toole's death in a car full of automobile exhaust in March 1969 along a country road near Biloxi, Mississippi. *Ignatius Rising* tells the story well. The story most worth reading, however, remains the lunatic tale that Toole gave us: *A Confederacy of Dunces.*

Philip Langdon is a TAE *contributing writer.*

LINCOLN'S SUBTLE WAR ON SLAVERY

By Timothy Sandefur

Abraham Lincoln And The Road to Emancipation, 1861-1865
By William K. Klingaman
Viking, 344 pages, $25.95

Despite the claims of some Southern partisans, the legitimacy of Southern secession in 1860 cannot be separated from the question of slavery. If secession was a revolutionary act, it was not, like the American Revolution, premised on defending individual liberty against tyranny. Rather, it was (like the Soviet Revolution) premised on subjecting individual rights to the "sovereignty of the state." Today, many still believe secession *can* be separated from slavery, and that though Lincoln may have detested human bondage, he had no right to prevent "Southern independence."

But Lincoln understood that slavery was at the heart of the war ten years before that war came. His debates with Stephen Douglas demonstrated that the notion of "popular sovereignty" (i.e., the "right" of the majority to enslave the minority) was self-contradictory, especially after *Dred Scott*. But the South was quite successful in disguising its fight for slavery as a fight for freedom, a ruse so clever that many still fall for it. H.L. Mencken, for instance, said Lincoln was "actually fighting *against* self-determination; it was the Confederates who fought for the right of the people to govern themselves."

But self-determination can only be based on the principle of equality, and its corollary, government by consent. Anything else is not self-determination, but the enslavement of some by others. Communist nations that insist "national self determination" requires silent acquiescence to tyranny, are attempting precisely the same ruse. As Lincoln put it, this view of self-determination means that if one man wishes to enslave another, no third man may be allowed to object. The "consent" of slave owners could no more legitimize the Confederacy's secession than the mutual consent among criminal conspirators can insulate them from prosecution. Klingaman is therefore wrong to say Lincoln overcame "the eighteenth-century notion that government was based on popular consent." In fact, the defeat of the South reaffirmed that principle. In Lincoln's words, "No man is good enough to govern another *without that man's consent.*"

If Lincoln saw the inseparable connection between slavery and the war, why did he often insist he was fighting only for union? Because, as Klingaman shows, it would have been impossible for Lincoln to claim otherwise. For one thing, more troops would desert a crusade against slavery than a crusade for union. And Lincoln took seriously the fact that he had no Constitutional power to end slavery in the states where it already existed. He only insisted that Congress could and should ban slavery in the West.

Slavery, Lincoln said, "has shaped nearly everything that enters into what we call government. It is as much Northern as it is Southern.... It is wrong, a great evil indeed." Nonetheless, he accepted that he could not force an end to the practice. Instead, by banning slavery in the territories, he would put it where the framers of the Constitution had put it: "in the course of ultimate extinction."

This was the issue on which Lincoln campaigned, and over which the South seceded. The South realized that a free West would eventually mean a turn of the teetering balance in the Senate away from slaveholding interests. Once that balance turned north, Congress could Constitutionally end slavery by law. *That* was what the South sought to avoid.

The war forced (and allowed) Lincoln to change tactics. If anything, he was slow to realize that hopes for a gradual end to slavery were now anachronistic. Long after it was clear that the war would be one of conquest, Lincoln continued to back measures for gradual and compensated emancipation. But abolitionists and generals pushed him to end slavery through confiscation, to weaken the South, keep Europe out, and raise the moral tenor of the war. Still, he hesitated. "I would do it," he said, "if I were not afraid that half the officers would fling down their arms, and...three more states would rise."

Lincoln was pressured on all sides by competing demands and tempers. There were Southerners fighting for the "positive good" of slavery, while others fought only for their native soil. There were uncompromising abolitionists, and Northerners who hated slaves more than slavery. There were border states that might secede if the war became a moralistic crusade, and Europeans who might support the South if it did not.

Thus Lincoln ended up running what today seems a haphazard attack on slavery. Today's Lincoln critics launch many contradictory attacks on him—simultaneously calling him a weak fool and a clever tyrant; accusing him of exceeding

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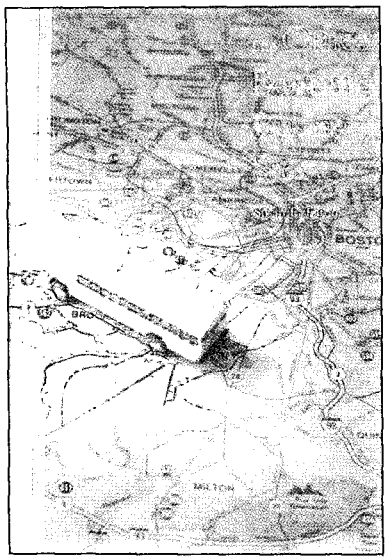

Constitutional limits, and not doing enough to end slavery by fiat. The results of the Emancipation Proclamation were indeed severe, as Lincoln had feared when he issued it. In the next election, Republicans lost New York, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. But in his strained and prudent way, Lincoln led the nation toward its "new birth of freedom."

Klingaman's book is a light and readable tale that will help keep the Civil War in perspective, but it will not end the continuing debate over that epic struggle.

Timothy Sandefur is a contributing editor of Liberty.

SCHOOL CHOICE PIONEERS

By Naomi Schaefer

The Other Boston Busing Story
By Susan E. Eaton
Yale University Press, 286 pages, $26.95

A quarter-century has passed since Judge Arthur Garrity, Jr. decided to desegregate Boston's public schools, but the wreckage left in the wake of his busing policy may take decades more to repair. Court-mandated busing not only exacerbated "white flight" and deepened racial divisions; it drastically diminished the quality of urban public schools. So it is with some ambivalence that one opens a book called *The Other Boston Busing Story*.

This other story began ten years before Judge Garrity's 1976 decision, when a group of black parents founded the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (Metco). Motivated by distress over neighborhoods of "drunk and idle men who seemed to do nothing all day…lottery ticket littered sidewalks…friends who began to use drugs, skip school, or drop out"—these urban parents called for something better for their children.

Metco's goal was to transport 220 inner-city black children to high-performing suburban schools using public funds. Unlike Boston's forced busing program, Metco has met with few objections over the years. Because the transport is in only one direction—white suburban children are not sent into Roxbury and Dorchester—Metco much more resembles a school-choice program than a forced desegregation plan.

The Other Boston Busing Story is the first comprehensive study of the program, and it is useful for what it tells us about the lengths parents and students will go to in order to leave failing schools, and about the results of attempts to racially integrate schools. The book is based on interviews with 65 former Metco participants ranging in age from about 23 to 43, who describe their experiences as children in the program, and how those experiences have influenced their adult lives.

Most participants reported that their years in the program were difficult ones, characterized by long commutes, low expectations from teachers, and racially prejudiced attitudes—not only from classmates but also from peers in their own neighborhoods who taunted them for "acting white."

But many credited their parents with encouraging them to stick it out. As one interviewee said of her mother, "She knew [Metco would] give you that edge. My mother, she never left Roxbury really, but she had it figured out somehow. That's what amazes me." She wasn't alone. Today, Metco has a waiting list of more than 13,000, and inner-city parents often sign up their children when they are only a few weeks old.

Many former students believe that the Metco program produced unique educational benefits. Unfortunately, Eaton provides almost no hard data to support this claim. Given this absence, it is hard to say whether or not the students who participated in the program could have succeeded at their local public school—thanks, for instance, to parental pressures—or whether in fact the atmosphere of the suburban schools, in which college was assumed to be the next logical step, can be credited with their achievements.

Instead, Eaton chose to explore Metco's effects on students' attitudes about race. Many of the Metco participants developed long-lasting cross-racial friendships. Many credit Metco with having a good effect on their relationships after high school, allowing them to serve as liaisons between the white and black communities at college and later in the workplace.

What at first seems a symbiotic relationship—in which black students can get a better education while white students can learn more about people who don't look like them—isn't always easy. Eaton's subjects describe numerous incidents in which they were the objects of some sort of school-wide show-and-tell game. One student recalls the humiliation he experienced during a class unit on drugs. "They started asking us questions like: 'Do you know a lot of people who OD'd?' or 'Do people try to sell drugs to you?'"

It's unfortunate that Eaton gives short shrift to other options that are now, or might soon become, available to children similar to those who participated in Metco. At charter schools, for instance, all children attend primarily to be educated, not to provide diverse experiences for one another. It follows that cross-racial friendships would have a better chance of succeeding in such an environment. If, as research has shown, race relations tend to be healthier in private schools than in public ones, vouchers may also be a useful alternative.

The "other" Boston busing story is indeed an enormous improvement over the first one. But let us hope there are better ones still.

Naomi Schaefer is assistant editor at Commentary *and is writing a book about religious colleges.*

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Edited by Martin Morse Wooster

the Digest

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POLITICS

How To Get Out Of The Balkans

Richard Betts, "The Lesser Evil: The Best Way To Leave the Balkans," in *The National Interest* (Summer 2001), 1112 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

American forces have now been in Bosnia for six years and in Kosovo for two. But the occupation has done little to transform these regions, and sometime American forces will have to come home. What should be done to ensure some measure of stability? Columbia University scholar Betts offers three scenarios:

Do nothing. Our troops could stay in the Balkans indefinitely, but to what end? The occupation in itself isn't likely to promote democracy. And importing legions of civilians to teach the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims democratic culture, would be a "hubris-laden mission" with risks similar to Vietnam.

Impose a partition. Partitioning territories has a dismal record, as the continuing conflicts in Kashmir, Cyprus, and Palestine show. Moreover, the tortured frontier that would result in a divided Bosnia would be difficult to police or maintain. In Kosovo it would be easier to divide the land into a Serb-speaking north, remaining part of Yugoslavia, and a separate nation incorporating the Albanian-speaking south. It's likely, however, that the Albanian Kosovars would fight to control the entire province, and an independent Kosovo might incite chaos in neighboring Macedonia.

Let Europe handle it. America could announce a withdrawal and suggest European Union forces take over the occupation. Betts considers this the "least bad" option, but one fraught with problems. Europe could refuse to intervene, which would leave Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and Albanians free to slaughter each other. Moreover, the Bush administration opposes attempts to organize a European army that's independent of NATO.

Betts suggests the lesson of the Bosnian and Kosovar episodes is that commanders should be wary of starting any campaign whose goal is to "impose Western standards of civic decency and re-integration of communities that have recently soaked each other in blood."

Keep Campaign Donors Anonymous?

Ian Ayres, "Should Campaign Reformers Be Identified?" in *Regulation* (Summer 2001), Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

Campaign finance reformers often argue that campaign contributions should be made public, so that voters can observe whether donors influence politicians' votes. But Yale Law School professor Ayres suggests that a better proposal would be to make all campaign contributions anonymous.

Under Ayres's proposal, contributions would be sent to a blind trust administered by a bank, which would then dole out money to candidates. Ayres believes his reform would have several advantages over the existing system. If all contributions had to be anonymous, then it's likely that there would be far fewer "soft money" or political action committee contributions. Donors could still fund independent campaigns, but these aren't as valuable to candidates, since they have no control over what these supporters say. Moreover, we insist on anonymity in the voting booth; why not anonymity in the "donation booth?"

"Mandating anonymous donations through a system of blind trusts," Ayres concludes, "might make it harder for candidates to sell access or influence because they would never know which donors had paid the price" of campaign contributions.

ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS

Smart Privacy Protection

Fred Cate, *Privacy in Perspective*, AEI Press, 1150 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Congress has recently passed several bills ensuring that a consumer's personal information receives some protection against being read and used by third parties without the consumer's knowledge. But American Enterprise

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Institute visiting scholar Cate warns that such restrictions are not cost-free. Efforts to ensure consumer privacy, he argues, should be balanced against "the benefits that open information flow make possible."

Imposing over-strict privacy restrictions, for example, would substantially crimp consumer credit. The reason why customers can easily get loans for cars and houses in surprisingly short periods of time is because loan officers can call up a customer's credit history quickly. Another benefit open credit records offer is that lenders do not have to hold substantial sums in reserve to deal with bad checks and delinquent accounts. Open records also enable banks to fight credit card fraud and identity theft. The Association of Certified Fraud Examiners reports that fraud and counterfeiting currently amount to $400 billion a year, or 6 percent of gross domestic product. That figure would be far higher if banks couldn't use open credit records to provide warnings of suspicious activity.

Nor are the currently available remedies for preserving privacy widely used. Congress recently required all lenders to send their customers detailed privacy disclosures. The result: By June 2001, 40,000 financial institutions deluged their customers with as many as 2.5 billion privacy advisories, costing billions of dollars to produce, few of which will ever be read.

Proposed health insurance privacy regulations would require every American to sign a privacy notice each time he picks up a prescription or sees a doctor. Under these regulations, family members would be banned from picking up another family member's prescription, because such a move would violate patient privacy. The Department of Health and Human Services calculates the cost of these regulations as $17.6 billion over a ten-year period.

Individual action, Cate argues, is a far better means of protecting privacy than sweeping governmental action, because "no technology, self-regulatory scheme, or law can substitute for good judgment in the management of personal information."

SOCIETY

Special Ed Needs Narrowing

Wade Horn and Douglas Tynan, "Revamping Special Education," in *The Public Interest* (Summer 2001), 1112 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

When Congress first passed what is now called the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act in 1975, its goal was to help public-school students suffering from severe physical disabilities. But the actual result has largely been to reward students who are not disabled but simply poor learners or lacking in motivation. Child psychologists Horn and Tynan suggest it's time to substantially reduce special education programs.

In the 1999-2000 school year, 6.8 million children—about 12 percent of all public school students—were placed in special education programs. But only about 10 percent of these students had severe physical disabilities. Around 46 percent of special education students were given the vague diagnosis of having "specific learning disability" or SLD. But child psychologists can't explain what SLD is, or how SLD students differ from non-disabled slow learners. University of Minnesota education professor James Ysseldyke contends that 80 percent of American schoolchildren could qualify as having the ill-defined SLD. In addition to these SLD children, all students diagnosed with attention deficit disorder (ADD) or attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) also qualify for special education programs, as a result of a 1999 federal regulation.

Special-education students get numerous advantages over other students, including personal tutors and note-takers, extra or unlimited time on tests, and freedom from most disciplinary rules. Perhaps it's for that reason that a high number of special-education students are children of wealthy parents. Although students who come from families with incomes over $100,000 only comprise 13 percent of the takers of the Scholastic Assessment Test, 27 percent of students who get special help on the SAT come from these high-income families.

On average, it costs $13,000 each year for a public school system to educate a special-education student, compared to the national per-pupil average of $6,200. Thus Washington is forcing states and local school districts to spend an additional $41.3 billion per year on special education. But as the federal government only provides $5 billion annually in aid, special education "is perhaps the largest unfunded federal mandate for education ever placed on state and local government."

Horn and Tynan suggest the number of students who are in special education because they disrupt classrooms should be severely trimmed. They argue that better methods of teaching reading might reduce dyslexia diagnoses. They urge, above all, that the purpose of special education should be to prepare students for the workplace. After a constant stream of extra assistance and suspended rules during their years in the classroom, many special-education students "have a rude awakening awaiting them when they arrive at college or enter the job market."

Hard Numbers On Tuition Tax Credits

Darcy Ann Olsen, Carrie Lips, and Dan Lips, *Fiscal Analysis of a $500 Federal Education Tax Credit to Help Millions, Save Billions*, Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

In the debate over school choice, hard estimates of how much money families would save if government tax credits were available for primary and secondary education expenses have been lacking. Olsen and Dan Lips of the Cato Institute and Carrie Lips of Harvard University report here that even a small tax credit could save families billions of dollars.

The authors propose allowing a $500 education credit on federal income taxes, available to everyone. Taxpayers without school-age children could donate their tax credit to a qualified scholarship organization, which would then use the donated funds to provide scholarships for children from low-income households.

Basing their calculations on research by economists Barry Chiswick and Stella

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Koutroumanes which found that every 10 percent drop in the cost of private school tuition would result in an increase in private school enrollment of 5 percent, Olsen and her associates estimate that their plan would allow 333,180 children currently attending public schools to go to a private school. The federal government would lose $2.7 billion in income taxes, but the states would save $2 billion in education expenses.

The actual effect of the credit, of course, would depend on how many people chose to take advantage of it. Arizona implemented a similar program in 1997 but only 2 percent of that state's taxpayers currently use it. If only 10 percent of all taxpayers used the scholarship tax credit, however, the authors calculate that it would generate $6.5 billion for scholarships.

A simple $500 federal education tax credit would thus allow hundreds of thousands of children from struggling families a chance to go to better schools, as well as "increasing parents' ability to direct their children's education."

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Who Should Pay For Space Exploration?

Jonathan M. Karpoff, "Public Versus Private Incentives in Arctic Exploration: The Effects of Incentives and Organizational Structure," in *Journal of Political Economy* (February 2001), University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, Post Office Box 37005, Chicago, Illinois 60037.

Should government fund space exploration, or is this a role best left to private initiative? Karpoff, an economist at the University of Washington, suggests that an answer is to be found in Arctic exploration in the ninteenth and early twentieth centuries, where there was vigorous competition between government-funded and privately funded expeditions. Karpoff finds that, compared to their private counterparts, state-funded expeditions "made fewer discoveries, introduced fewer technological innovations, were subject to higher rates of scurvy, lost more ships, and had more explorers die."

Karpoff examined 92 Arctic expeditions that took place between 1818 and 1909. While 35 of these expeditions were primarily state-funded, 57 were private. The government-funded expeditions tended to be bigger and more wasteful, on average losing significantly more crewmen and ships than private expeditions.

Government expeditions tended to be led by commanders assigned to exploration duty, as opposed to men with a natural inclination for it. British naval explorer George Nares, for example, called the Arctic a "wretched place," but dutifully went north in the hopes of getting a promotion. Government-appointed commanders tended to follow orders from distant superiors more blindly, Karpoff finds.

By contrast, private explorers, who had to raise their own funds, were more parsimonious with life and cargo. They had extensive training; the great Norwegian trekker Roald Amundsen spent years in preparation before heading out, and trained to captain his own ship.

Private explorers more readily adopted new techniques. They learned from native Inuit, for instance, that multi-layered parkas conserved more body heat than wool. While government expeditions still had men hauling hundreds of pounds of equipment through the snow, private expeditions were able to move faster by relying on sled dogs and snowshoes.

Government expeditions, Karpoff concluded, were accompanied by "perverse incentives, slow adaptation, and ineffective organization." That's why they were less effective than private Arctic expeditions.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Britain Continues To Decay

Charles Murray, *Underclass + 10*, Institute for the Study of Civil Society/*Sunday Times* of London, 39 York Road, London SE17HQ, England.

Over the past decade, American Enterprise Institute fellow Murray has been repeatedly asked by the London *Sunday Times* to analyze British social trends. In his latest report, he finds that the British underclass continues to get larger.

Murray examines three British indicators: the percentage of young men who have dropped out of the labor force, the number of unmarried women having children, and the rates of violent crime. All three indicators are rising sharply. The number of unemployed young men has risen by a third over the last decade, and the illegitimacy rate has tripled.

In 1996, the violent crime rate in Britain was, for the first time, higher than in the U.S. Britain still has fewer robberies than America, but British criminals are twice as likely to burglarize homes as their American counterparts. The result: Britain is now "just another high-crime industrialized country."

Put his three indicators together and you have a recipe for a rising British underclass, contends Murray. He points out that the decay in Britain's lower classes has no connection with the state of the British economy, which dramatically improved in the 1990s.

In an earlier article, Murray examined two possible futures for British society. One was for a "Brave New World" scenario in which family breakdown spreads to all classes. A second scenario, which he deemed more likely, was for a bifurcation between "the New Victorians and the New Rabble," in which there would be even greater division between prosperous, moral, and stable upper classes and the more anarchic and lawless lower parts of society. While Murray still sees the second scenario as likelier, a definitive sense can't be gotten until Britain publishes the results of its 2001 census.

Meanwhile, leading Labour Party ministers won't even admit that illegitimacy is a problem, Murray warns. "The notion that children do just as well in single-parent families," he writes, "seems to have become a kind of unshakeable folk legend for British politicians and intellectuals."

We welcome submissions of reports, articles, or papers you think should be summarized in THE DIGEST. Please send to P.O. Box 8093, Silver Spring, Maryland 20907.

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Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman

Fallout From The 2000 Election

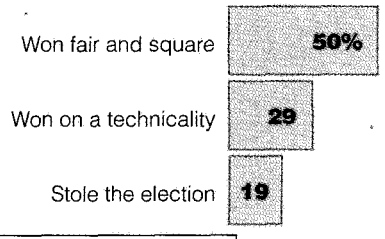
Nearly a year after the 2000 election controversy, most Americans appear satisfied with the outcome. Three-quarters accept George W. Bush as the legitimate President. Ninety-two percent of Americans believe their own vote was counted fairly; 1 percent do not. Attitudes toward the Supreme Court have remained positive and stable, but Republicans are now more positive about the Court than Democrats. Nearly all polls conducted since the election show that if the contest were rerun, the outcome would be close again.

Question: Do you ...?

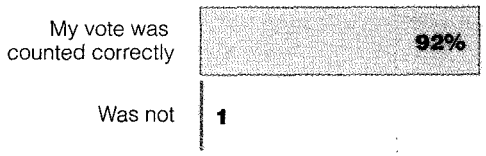
	Accept George W. Bush as the legitimate President	Do not
November 11–12, 2000	79%	19%
November 19	86	13
November 26–27	84	15
December 2–4	85	14
December 13	80	18
December 15–17	83	16
April 2001	76	23

Source: The Gallup Organization, latest that of April 2001.

Question: Which comes closest to your view of the way George W. Bush won the 2000 Presidential election...?

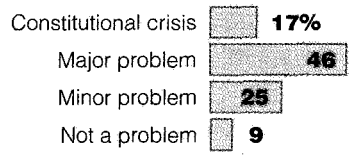


Question: Was your vote...?



Source: Zogby International, December 2000.

Question: Which of these statements do you think best describes the situation that occurred since Tuesday's (November 7th), election for President...?



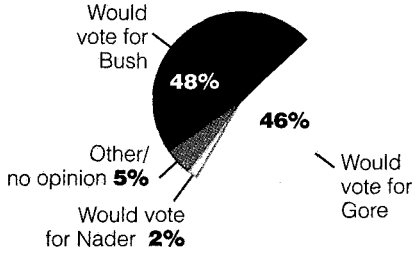
Note: This question has been asked four other times since the election, and the responses were similar each time. Source: The Gallup Organization, December 10, 2000.

Question: Do you...?

	Approve of the way the Supreme Court is handling its job	Republicans' response	Democrats' response
August–September 2000	62%	60	70
Jan 2001	59	80	42
June	62	74	54

Source: The Gallup Organization, latest that of June 2001.

Question: If the election were held today among the same candidates...?



Source: ABC News/ *Washington Post*, July 2001.

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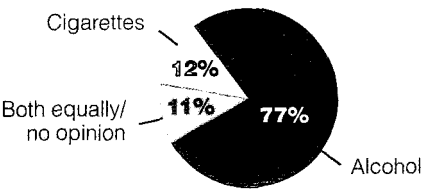
Vices: Smoking, Drinking, and Gambling

Americans believe that alcohol causes more problems for society than cigarettes do. The proportion that smokes has dropped from more than four in ten in 1944 to 28 percent today. Only a small number of Americans want to ban smoking entirely, though about 40 percent think it should be illegal in all public places. Setting aside areas for smokers appears to be an acceptable compromise. Smokers get far more blame than tobacco companies for the health problems smokers face.

Smoking

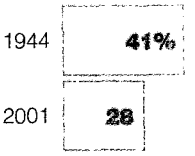
Question: All things considered, which of the following products do you think create the most problems in society?



Source: The Gallup Organization, September 1999.

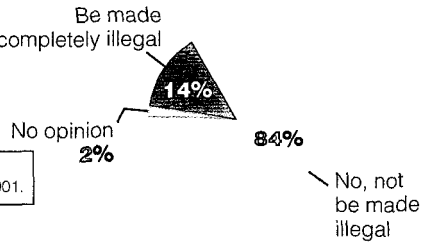
Question: Have you, yourself...?

Smoked any cigarettes in the past week

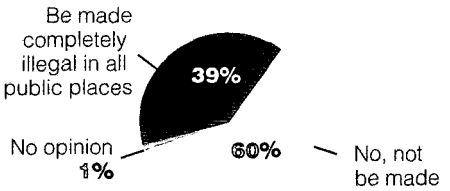


Source: The Gallup Organization, April 2001.

Question: Should smoking in this country...?

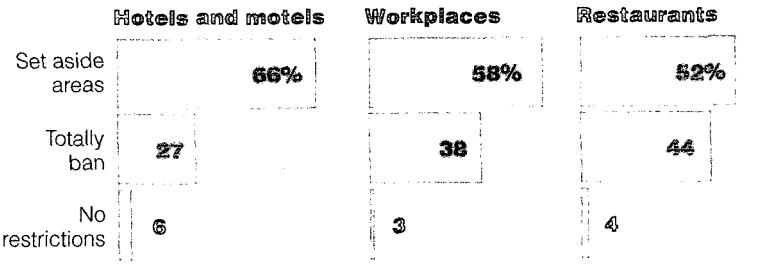


Question: Should smoking in all public places...?

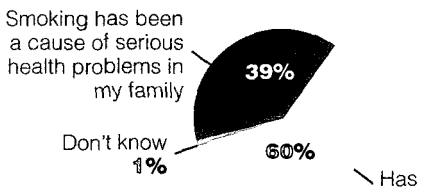


Source: The Gallup Organization, April 2001.

Question: What is your opinion regarding smoking in public places. Should...?

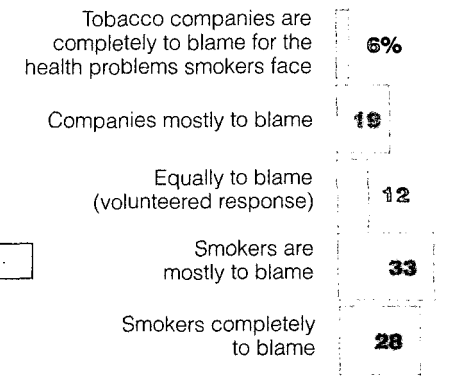


Question: Has...?



Source: The Gallup Organization, April 2001.

Question: Which of the following statements best describes your view of who's to blame...?



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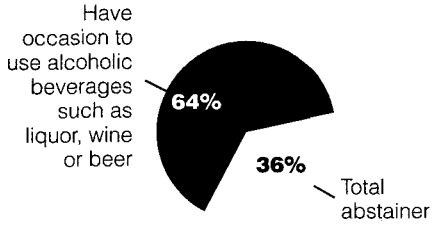
Vices (continued)

Thirty-six percent of Americans tell pollsters they abstain from drinking any alcoholic beverages. Family problems caused by drinking are up sharply over the last generation. Of those who drink, 26 percent say they sometimes drink more than they should. People find drinking at holiday parties and at parties at home most acceptable. Just a quarter think it is appropriate to drink at a business lunch. Fifty-five percent of Americans have played a game of chance in the past year. Of those who did, state-run lotteries were the most popular. People are of two minds about casinos.

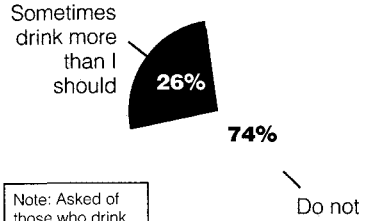
Drinking

Question: Do you ...?



Note: Of those who said they drink, 43 percent said they had had no alcoholic beverages in the past seven days, 46 percent said they had had 1-7 drinks, 8 percent 8-10 drinks, and 3 percent, 20 or more.

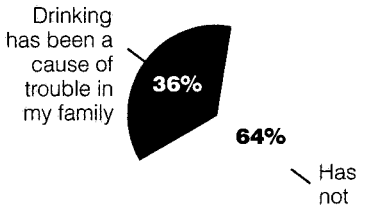
Question: Do you ...?



Note: Asked of those who drink.

Source: The Gallup Organization, November 2000.

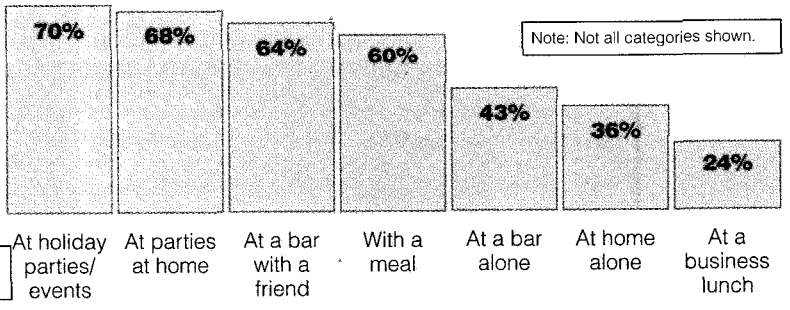
Question: Has...?



Note: In 1947, 15 percent of those surveyed said drinking had been a cause of trouble in their family.

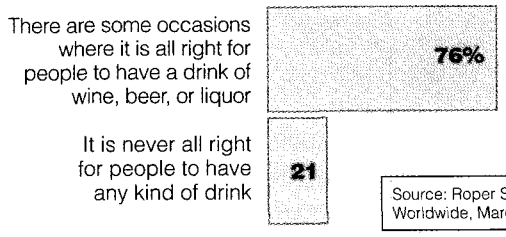
Question: Would you tell me ...?

This is an occasion where it is appropriate to drink



Note: Not all categories shown.

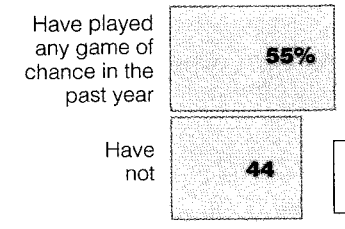
Question: Whether or not you yourself happen to drink you may have feelings about when it is proper to drink, and what to drink. Do you think...?



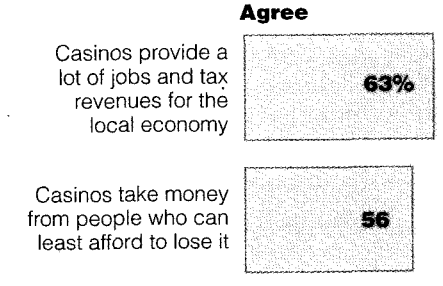
Source: Roper Starch Worldwide, March 2001.

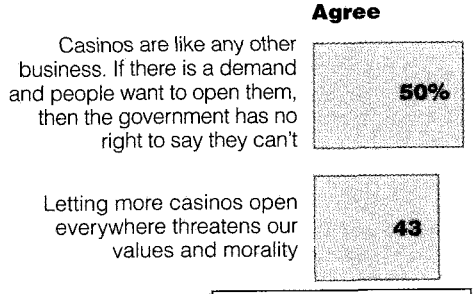
Gambling

Question: I'd like to talk to you now about games of chance, such as the lottery, off-track betting, casino gambling, and so forth. Please tell me...?



Question: Many casinos are being built around the country today, and people have different opinions about this.... For each statement, please tell me whether you agree...





Note: Not all categories shown.

Note: For those who had played a game of chance in the past year, state-run lotteries were the most popular (41 percent had played one in the last year) followed by casino gambling (26 percent).
Source: Roper Starch Worldwide, October 2000.

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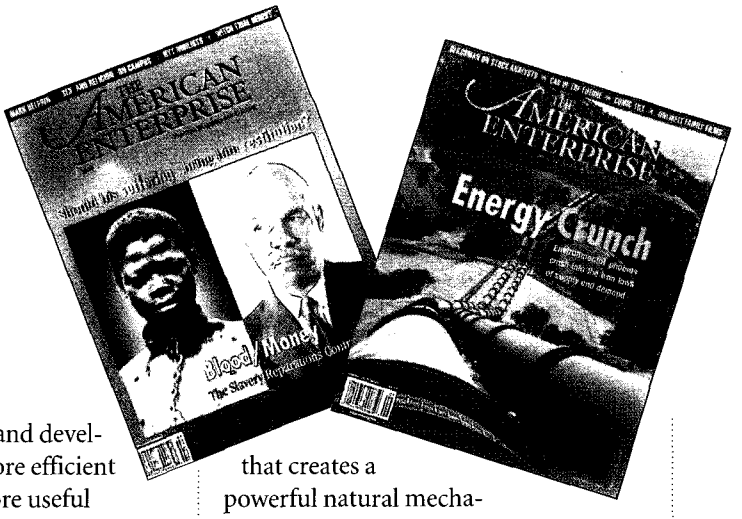
the Mail



A tip of the hat to your "Energy Crunch" issue (September 2001). The articles on our present energy situation, including a realistic appraisal of alternate power sources, and an assessment of how citizens and government should address the problem, are excellent and should be required reading for uninformed or biased policy makers—as well as those media "experts" too lazy or opinionated to uncover easily accessible facts. As a retired professional geologist, I was about to write on energy, but you've said it all.

Glenn Waterman
Bainbridge Island, Washington

Your fantastic September issue gave me a refreshing new insight into our current energy situation. I am in the solar energy business myself, but I am a realist and understand our need to continue exploring and drilling for oil. I keep reading in the local Los Angeles press that home solar systems pay off in five to six years. If this were true I would be swamped with business, but this is not happening.

The field of solar energy has excited me since childhood and now supplies my income. I have installed solar panels on rooftops in Los Angeles for 20 years. If our energy policies continue without a clear vision for the future, we will increase our dependency on foreign sources of fossil fuels, and our environment will suffer irrevocable harm. Solar power can indeed increase the diversity of our power sources, and add stability to our fossil-fuel energy structure, as well as reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

But the solar-energy market needs to mature naturally, over time, without subsidies, if the technology is to become a cost-effective and viable energy solution for the future. Research and development to produce a more efficient solar panel would be more useful than promoting solar energy with government-ordered rebates.

Our experience with the solar rebates in the mid 1980s was clear. When half the cost of solar power systems was subsidized, unethical players entered the field. Sales were easy and substandard installations commonplace. Eventually the market crashed when funds were no longer available.

Ultimately, however, solar can help save our environment and preserve our self-reliance.

Graham Owen
Go Solar Company
North Hollywood, California

I am writing to thank and compliment Karl Zinsmeister for his very informative and insightful commentary on energy and its role as an ingredient in human progress (BIRD'S EYE, September 2001).

Green leadership has a highly pessimistic world view—that human development will overrun the natural world and necessary resources, and must therefore be halted and reversed. This pessimism has led to our current energy crisis and will similarly lead to water shortages and more crises in the future.

The more optimistic worldview sees individual aspirations, innovation, and creativity as the keys to long-term human success. In my recent book, *A General Theory Of Acquisitivity—On Human Nature, Productivity and Survival,* I discuss the evidence that acquisitivity (the human propensity to acquire whatever has value) is a fundamental characteristic of human nature, and one that creates a powerful natural mechanism for allocation of resources to their most efficient uses.

Wayne Jett
San Marino, California

Kevin Johnson (THE MAIL, September 2001) asserts that reparations would somehow cease to be "payments from individuals to other individuals" if the "United States as a nation" were to fork over the cash instead. Does Mr. Johnson suppose the government can simply print up the necessary funds on its golden money press?

One also wonders in just what sort of a "more conscious way" this country could have atoned for its sin than the sacrifice of the Civil War dead. Mr. Johnson seems to value other people's money more than the blood of his countrymen.

Michael Kilpatrick
Macon, Georgia

Your OPINION PULSE section recently included a very interesting bar chart outlining the confidence of Americans in the various major institutions in this country. I was quite surprised to see the very lowest standing for the U.S. Congress (confidence level at 11 percent), although I agree that its members have earned that ranking by their actions.

It would be interesting to have a follow-up survey that asked: "In a recent pol, 89 percent of people questioned said they did not have a great deal of confidence in the people running the Congress. Why do you think those people continue to re-elect the incumbents?"

Robert Allan
Los Altos Hills, California

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-5867. Or e-mail TAE@aei.org. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

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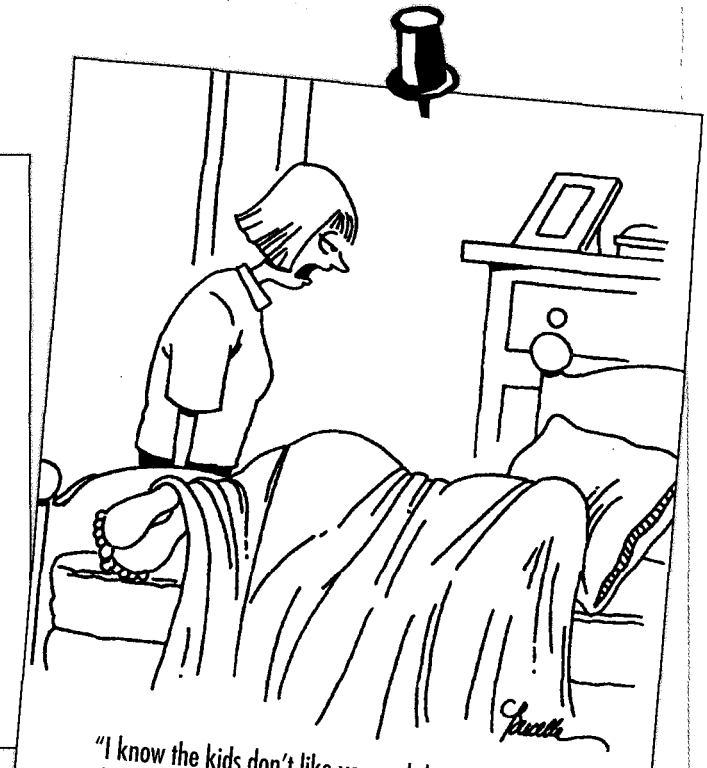
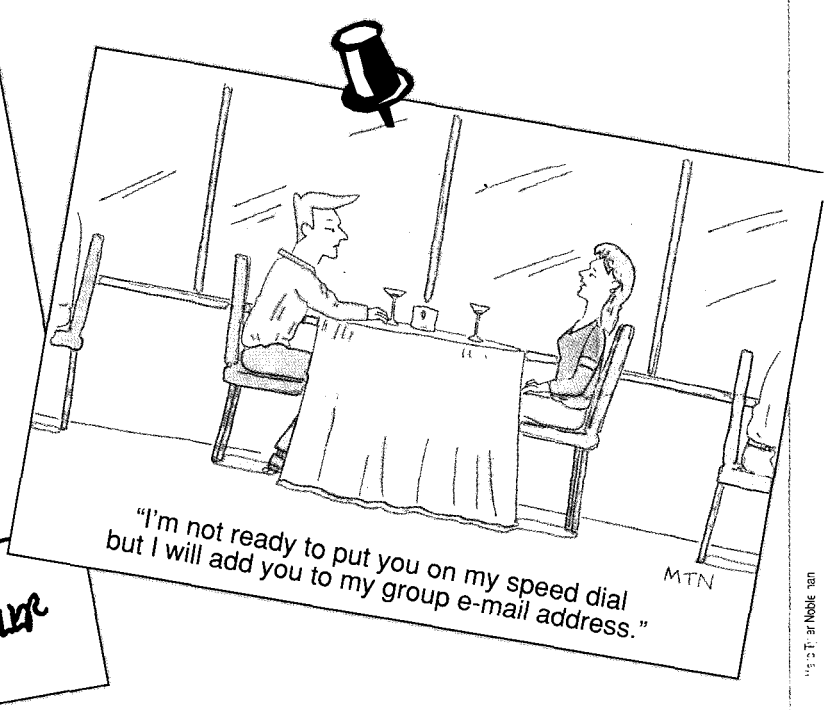
"I slept wrong."



"I know the kids don't like you and they pick on you, but you have to go to school...you are the teacher."



"I'm not ready to put you on my speed dial but I will add you to my group e-mail address."

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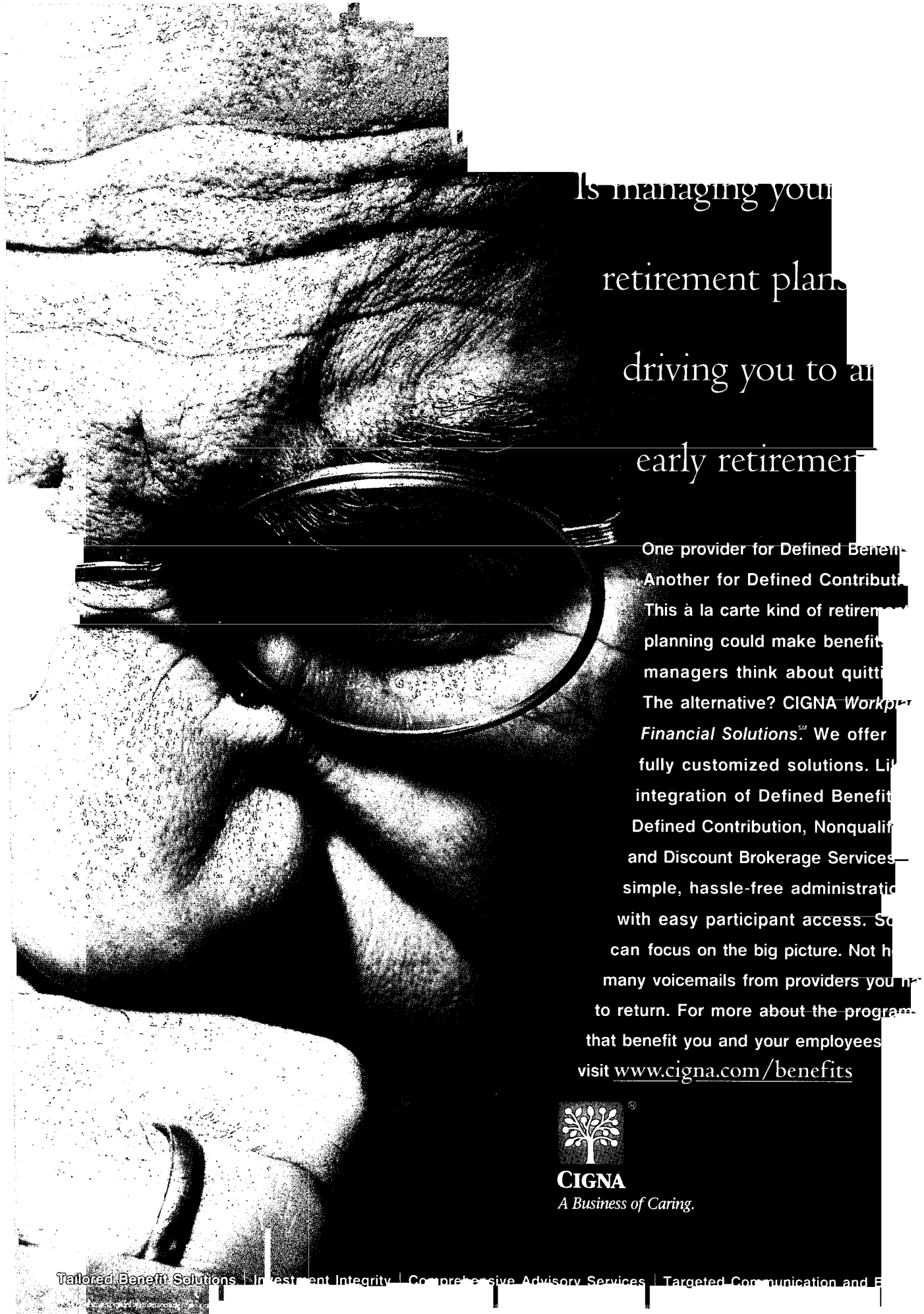

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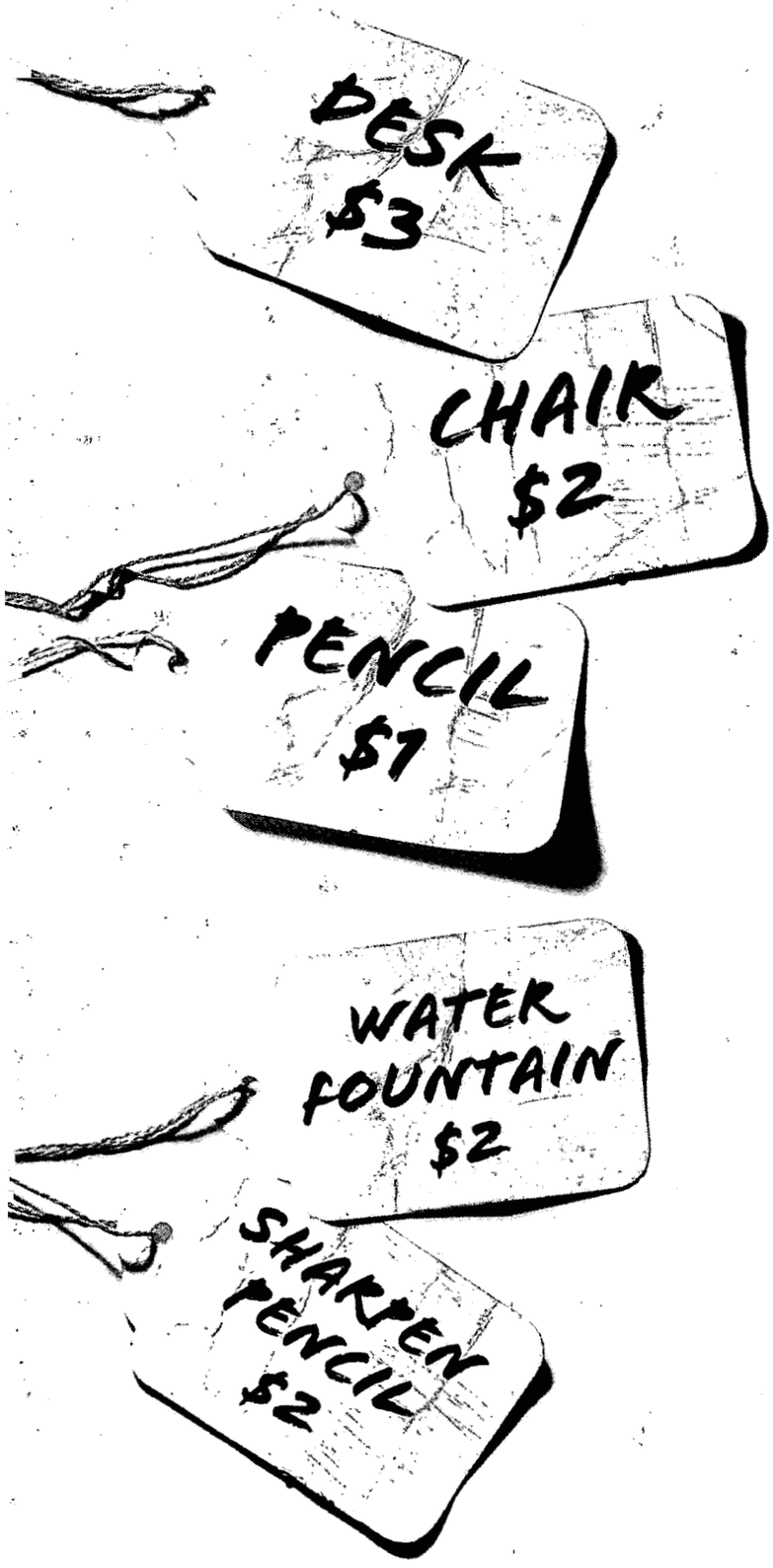
If you're in Mr. Garwick's class, you're going to pay.



The good news is that Mr. Garwick pays students to attend class. The bad news is that everything – chairs, desks, even trips to the water fountain – must be purchased.

It's his ingenious way of making math fun for sixth graders while teaching them the concepts of saving, spending, banking and supply & demand.

For selling kids on the importance of math, State Farm is pleased to present Ken Garwick with our Good Neighbor Teacher Award™ and to donate $10,000 to Marlatt Elementary School in Manhattan, Kansas.

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The Good Neighbor Teacher Award was developed in cooperation with the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics.

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